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TERRORISM AND THE LEFT

". . . In whose name and on whose behalf did the SLA execute Superintendent Foster? In what sense was their Court of the People, *of* the People at all? In what sense was it a court? But perhaps all this has a purpose: perhaps it is just a license to kill."

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Volume 12, No. 10 May 1974

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RAMPARTS is published monthly by Noah's Ark, Inc. Printed in the U.S.A. Second class postage is paid at Berkeley, California and at additional offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and Alternative Press Index. Microfilm back volumes available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $11.00, one year; $21.00, two years, $30.00, three years in U.S.A. Foreign rate: $13.00, one year; $22.00, two years. Airmail rate: USA, Mexico, Canada, $18.50 per year. Europe, South and Central America, $22.50 per year; rest of world, $27.50 per year. Single issue $1.00. Inquire for prices of back issues and bulk orders. SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE: Send both new and old address (enclose recent magazine address label, if possible). Please allow six weeks for new orders and address changes. Request for missing issues older than two months from current date will be honored only when accompanied by payment. MANUSCRIPTS: Include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. RAMPARTS editors assume no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

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Letters

[ELECTRONIC CLASSROOM]

Editors / On behalf of the men and women of Scientific Research Associates, I am writing to voice our dismay at your characterization of our people, products, and intentions. [*Ramparts*, March 1974, "Good Morning Class . . ." by Michael Seltzer and Howard Karger.]

It would be extremely difficult to find a group of employees anywhere more dedicated to the goal of quality education for all children. SRA's long established reputation as a respected and innovative publisher is evidence of their efforts. SRA's sales force consists of men and women all of whom have prior educational experience. They are former teachers, principals, superintendents, etc., most with advanced degrees in education. They are not "hucksters, who prey on the fears of customers," but responsible people who attempt to inform educators about improved ways to provide children a quality education.

The article also stated that "The corporate-run electronic classroom is working to neutralize its target population psychologically today." This assertion is absurd and unfounded. In the educational materials marketplace free and vigorous competition exists among concepts, products and techniques. Educators have a wide selection of materials from which to choose. Those materials that have proven to be successful in achieving the goals of educators, parents and society alike, obviously will be the ones must utilized. In the final analysis it is the educators who have been entrusted with the decision as to which products best serve the needs of the classroom.

Richard A. Giesen
President, SRA
Chicago, Illinois

Editors / The gentlemen who wrote the article criticizing the "knowledge industry" chose a popular horse to whip. The only problem was that they spent all their time flailing around in the air and missed the horse completely. They would get close once in a while. (The example they used of SRA's social studies unit with the jolly cops and worrying bankers *does* stink.) But we wish they had stuck to criticism like that which had a basis in reality. Instead, they had to wax Orwellian, making assumptions, based on their own political bias, that turned real problems into science-fiction caricatures:

The corporations are evil monsters with a master plan, the goal of which is to condition future generations into passive submission to a capitalist-imperialistic ethic.

Teachers are fear-ridden idiots (the gammas of *Brave New World*) who are naive enough to believe that learning packages represent the *one* solution, the magic pill that will "solve the teachers' dilemma, calm . . . the critics . . . and teach the children."

The children are worse than the teachers. They are passive little lumps, who have no control over their own bodies, much less the machines which are out to control them. The authors would have you see the child strapped and wired in his listening carrel, mesmerized by the image before him, totally incapable of knowing when the machine was feeding him crap, and unable to shut the thing off, even if he did know. (It is this caracature that we most resent.)

The overriding implication of the article is that nothing which is capitalistic, corporate, or has had anything to do with the military branch of the government can possibly be good for education. If we teachers were to refuse to use the machines for such simple-minded reasons, we might truly deserve the authors' caricature.

But if they could make us believe their more serious allegation–that the medium itself is harmful to the children–then, perhaps, they could get us to listen. So far, though, there is no empirical evidence to show that these methods, when used as they are meant to be, in moderation and in conjunction with other resources, in the hands of a competent teacher will lead the students into alienation, passivity and submissiveness, nor that it will distort his value system, nor that it will make him believe that "commands broadcast through electronic media are more valid than the speech and gestures of . . . human beings." (p. 14)

We think *Ramparts* was ripped-off. As much as Seltzer and Karger put down the corporations for using education as a fresh field from which to glean profits, they themselves have prostituted their talents and "scholarship" to make a few fast bucks off of *Ramparts* by exploiting possibilities.

Jean Jacobson
Donna Lake
Bishop, Calif.

Seltzer and Karger reply: We are indebted to Giesen, Jacobson and Lake for serving as examples of the rationale and content of the corporate conditioning to which our article was addressed. Reading their letters is like meeting Typhoid Mary and two of her victims. Yes, Mr. Giesen a similarly dedicated group of former teachers, principals and superintendents, many with advanced degrees in education, did *their* huckstering in Germany during Hitler's reign. No, Mr. Giesen, there is very little free and vigorous competition in today's "educational marketplace." With R&D costs running into the millions for a single K-8 learning package, there aren't too many "Ma and Pa" education shops in the marketplace. As for your assertion about educators freely deciding which products to use in the classroom, the following passage from a letter we received from a junior high school teacher in Massachusetts should suffice: "Because I am working in a federally-funded program, the electronic 'resource material,' behavior modification, and those condescending robots who call themselves consultants are more rampant. There are federal guidelines which call for these things which means we have to use them whether or not you like it Other teachers can decline, we can't."

Since Jacobson and Lake ask for empirical evidence about the negative impact of corporate learning on behavior, we would refer them to the evidence contained in their own letter. Their attitudes and values clearly reflect those of the learning packages they presumably use in their teaching. Apparently contact with corporate truths have convinced Jacobson and Lake that they inhabit a society where, like SRAland, students are *always* male, where the military "helps" educate children and where such euphemisms as escalation, and pacification, the Ministry of Operative and Inoperative Truth, and Thought Police stealing the recording fantasies of a psychiatrist patient named Ellsberg are only Orwellian science fiction. Similarly, Jacobson and Lake are so thoroughly conditioned as to believe that everyone is driven to act by the profit (worry) motive. Contrary to their laughable assertion there are quite a few of us who write not to make profits (from *Ramparts*, yet) but instead out of a profound sense of rage and a desire to help children, parents and teachers rapidly being caught up in a corporate-run closed system. It is true that many children may know when they are being fed crap, but if the machinery feeding them has been so effective in shaping the attitudes and values of the adult teachers like the Jacobsons and Lakes, who are supposed to be competent, they will need an army of informed and enraged Americans to help them change that system.

[RALPH NADER]

Editors / "How Far Can a Lone Ranger Ride?" by Wm. Greider in your March 1974 issue not only does a great injustice to Ralph Nader, it also shows up Mr. Greider's ignorance of both the past and present importance of investigative journalism–Muckraking if you prefer. The title of his "nit picking" article is not only misleading, but his final statement that "there isn't any revolution" shows that he is uninformed as to the national impact of Nader's Raiders and their numerous projects and publications.

Several of the chapters in a recently published book by Penn State Press make positive reference to the growing leadership of Ralph Nader and his associates. Professor John M. Harrison of the Department of Journalism at Penn State has put together not only the important portions of papers that were given at the symposium, but with his associates he has succeeded in analysing the past, present, and future of "Muckraking." I recommend to Mr. Greider not only this book but also a book by Louis Filler entitled "Crusaders For American Liberalism." Dr. Filler was one of the symposium. Is Mr. Greider a regular reader of *Ramparts* and did he catch the article by Derek Shearer on "George Seldes: Muckraker Emeritus"? (Aug. 1973) A better title

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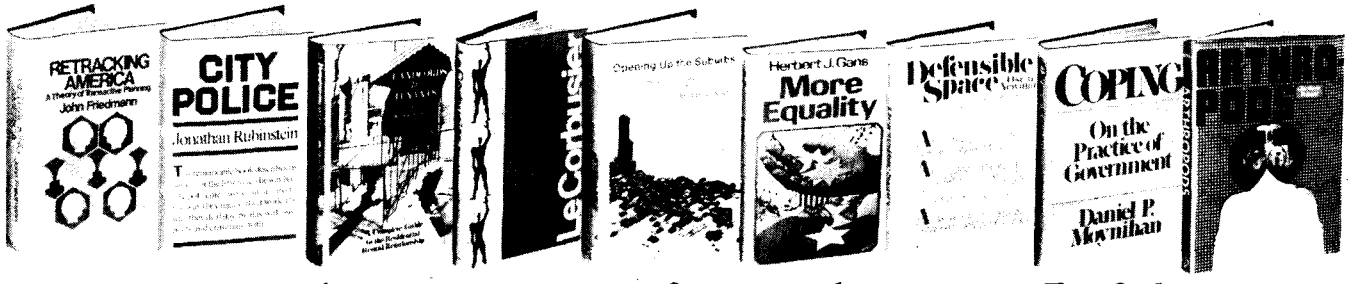

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to an otherwise informative article would be: "Ralph Nader: Champion Muckraker."

Walter L. Morrison
Salt Lake City, Utah

[SOCIALISM IN CANADA]

Editors / I hadn't read *Ramparts* for some time, but I picked up the February 1974 issue on the newsstand because of the article by Derek Shearer on the New Democratic Party in British Columbia. I was stunned by the article. Was this the same *Ramparts* which was at one time a leading voice of the American Left?

Mr. Shearer can be excused for having little knowledge about the development of the Left in Canada, and particularly the struggle between the social democrats and the Marxist movements. What is astonishing, however, is his apparent lack of knowledge about the historical development of socialism and working class movements. How can anyone on the Left fail to understand the ideological differences between socialism and social democracy?

On numerous occasions Dave Barrett, NDP Premier of British Columbia, has described himself as a social democrat. He has repudiated social ownership of the means of production. He claims he is in the tradition of the British Labor Party. And he is being honest.

On a recent trip to Europe, he refused to meet with Francois Mitterand because the French Social Party had formed an electoral alliance with the Communist Party. In his electoral campaign he only promised to nationalize two public utilities, B.C. Telephone and Westcoast Transmission, both U.S. owned. Now he has even backed out of this. Instead, he has bought 8 percent of the stock of the first and 13.5 percent of the stock of the second. With a straight face he announced at a press conference on January 17, 1974, that he had "bought out an American company with American money" and was "returning control to Canada."

Mr. Shearer suggests that sometime in the future the U.S. government might give clandestine support for Mr. Barrett's opponents. That is an incredible statement. Ludicrous. The NDP is ideologically the equivalent of the Chilean Christian Democrats (not quite as Left). The NDP is dominated by the business agents and top high-paid officials of the conservative American trade unions operating in Canada. These are the types of organizations that the CIA has *supported* all around the world during the period of the cold war. Read some of your back issues! The social democrats in Canada have played a key role in driving the Communist Party out of the trade unions. During the early 1940s, the B.C. Federation of Labor was controlled by Communist-led trade unions.

One expects that the capitalist press will mislead the people. That is one of its key functions. One does not expect that of the radical press. But perhaps there is a new Ramparts.

John W. Warnock
Canadian Dimension
Saskatoon, Sask., Can.

Editors / I could hardly believe my eyes when I spotted a story concerning Canada in *Ramparts*. Perhaps this is a sign of better things to come. Slowly we are being convinced that some Americans can actually write accurate reports on Canadian Affairs.

Michael McBane
Gatineau, Quebec

[BLUEPRINTS FOR A NEW SOCIETY]

Editors / Mr. Domhoff's essay "Blueprints for a New Society," which appeared in the February issue of *Ramparts*, contained some positive tactics for presenting a socialistic alternative to the present system. The "strategy" of working within the Democratic Party, however, flies in the face of reality. That party is, as it always has been, dominated by fat cats, machine hacks, bureaucrats, and Dixiecrats. In the face of this corrupt opposition, any "revolutionary" Democrats would suffer the same setbacks inflicted on the following groups:

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in their unsuccessful credentials fight in 1964; the McCarthy campaign in 1968; and the independently organized campaign of Sen. 1000% McGovern 1972.

In addition, the "peace" candidate, Lyndon Johnson in 1964; the "people's" Democrat, Hubert Humphrey in 1968; the non-existant or half-hearted support given to Sen. McGovern in 1972; and the "reform" of the reforms since 1972, and the new party chairmanship by more conservative elements have all demonstrated how viable is the solution to "takeover" or "reform" the Democratic Party along even truly liberal lines not to mention revolutionary lines.

Working Americans are not "rabidly" anti-socialist, they are reacting to the excesses of the Soviet-style police state as Mr. Domhoff has correctly pointed out. But there is a world of difference between 1948 and the present. In 1948 there was little reason for working Americans to abandon the party they felt had bailed the country out of the depression, and led it through the Second World War to post-war prosperity to face the Soviet "menace." Now, however, many of these voters have witnessed a generation of the neglect of their interests at the hands of a Democratically controlled Congress. Many working Americans have been looking for an alternative, as their votes for George Wallace in 1968, and Richard Nixon in 1972 have demonstrated. Working Americans who have felt the betrayal of their interests by the Republicratic "two party" system will be moved to seek a *meaningful* alternative.

Nearly 40 percent of the eligible electorate, whether they consider themselves liberal, conservative, radical, or independent have been so disgusted with the antics of politicians currently dominating the scene that they have declined to exercise their right to vote. As a result, we pay our tax dollars to be squandered, misappropriated, and stolen by tax-cheating office holders who have been elected by default. If the Americans who can but don't vote were to form their own political movement, it would be larger than either of the two parties currently dominating the scene.

Robert Allred
Peace & Freedom Party
Novato, Calif.

Editors / I would like to reply to, and strongly disagree with, the article by G. William Domhoff, while being thankful such discussions and proposals are becoming more common. I think Domhoff seriously misunderstands the movement of the Sixties and the ongoing struggle that has followed it, and that his proposal for using the Democratic party as the vehicle for revolutionary change and politics is inadequate and bound to fail.

Domhoff, like many analysts and observers on the Left, has joined the established media in declaring that the revolutionary thrusts of the late Sixties were but surface explosions which have been and gone, hapless flashes in the dark capitalist night useful now only in helping us to avoid similar future failures as *now* we must develop a truly revolutionary strategy. That simply is not true. Sure, we were mistaken in our timetable for revolution, in our anti-working class elitism, in our contempt for theoretical and strategic analysis, and in our vain, self-glorifying, line-drawing rhetoric. We were, largely, spoiled middle-class kids who came to realize—slowly and in spurts—the shallowness and the incredible brutality of the capitalist order. We responded hurt and angry—to the war, to the production-line nature of our educations, to the incredible confusion and alienation which filled our lives when the neatly planned straight road to a family and fat jobs in suburbia no longer filled our most vital needs.

We needed the comradery and community of the movement at least as much as we needed to shake our fists at the rulers. We didn't possess the subjective tools for making a revolution any more than objective conditions had reached a point of revolutionary tension. We moved largely out of our own needs, which is not the way to lead a revolution, but was necessary for us to get beyond the grip of capitalist reality. That we did not fulfill our ill-conceived goal of immediate revolution does not mean this process which began in the late Sixties has stopped; rather it is my contention that it is dynamically alive in the lives of millions of people who now have valuable historical experience behind them.

Domhoff calls on us for visions: blueprints. This is a real need, but the blueprint for liberated society cannot be drawn in haste. It must be developed from the lessons of our experience, our practice and analysis, as well as the more and more specific, practical, and realistic projections of a socialist America. Domhoff criticizes the New Left for its lack of vision, its inability to see past its anti-capitalist critique, while offering no vision past the subversion of the Democratic party. The New Left has certainly made no specific plans for the new society, but, at least, has contributed significantly to the

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We're standing up to them in the fields— will you stand up to them in the stores?

Boycotts are a drag. You're tired of them, just as the farm workers are tired of striking. But the workers will not be reduced to chattel again. Cesar Chavez asks consumers to unite as never before. Nothing less will cause the growers to grant workers the simple right to vote, by secret ballot, on which union will represent them: the UFW or the Teamsters.

Three years ago a massive consumer boycott dragged growers kicking and screaming into the 20th Century. Now, when UFW's hard-won contracts are up for renewal along come Teamster honchos who, without a word to the workers, sign a ready-made contract with the growers. That Teamster contract reinstitutes the notorious Labor Contractor hiring system, reduces the workers' already minimal pay, imposes no restrictions on the use of man-killing pesticides and leaves the workers without any effective medical benefits. There are other cruel inadequacies in the Teamsters' sweetheart contract, but that Teamsters are now importing scab labor should be enough to make you lose your taste for grapes.

So how come these union-hating growers welcome Teamster advances rather than negotiate with a worker-controlled union? Growers, not surprisingly, prefer to deal with bosses who have nothing in common with the men and women who spend their lives bent over in the fields.

The farm workers are seeking redress via the courts and by petitioning the growers for secret-ballot elections. The Teamsters are now importing scab labor (many of whom arrive not knowing they are strike-breakers and who are coerced to keep working by the Teamsters' inelegant persuasions!). The bitter fruit of this labor is now arriving at stores in your neighborhood. If these grapes sell, other growers will be tempted to follow the lead of their Coachella and Delano peers and invite the Teamsters to "organize" the fields on their terms i.e., a lower hourly wage; no restriction on the use of condemned sprays, including nerve gas; reinstitution of the slave-labor contractor system, and a medical plan that neatly excludes seasonal workers!

To strike is to go hungry, and for many workers it means going to jail. But strike we will, even knowing this may not prevent the harvest.

You are our last line of defense. You are the one critical element the Teamsters cannot control. If you are sickened by this attempt to return farm workers to the status of cattle, then the workers' cause is not yet lost.

The Growers understand sales. The memory of the last great boycott is their recurring nightmare. To be stuck with a worthless crop is a fate even worse than negotiating with a worker-controlled union.

Nothing less than a massive consumer boycott of grapes and iceberg lettuce will cause the growers to recognize a union that represents the workers.

So here's what you can do to support the farmworkers in their non-violent resistance to the Grower-Teamster consortium: 1. Boycott all table grapes. 2. Contribute money to help feed the workers who will miss the few months of work when they can earn wages. The money you send will be used for basics: food, clothing, medicine. 3. Continue to boycott iceberg lettuce, Safeway and A. & P. stores.

"THE WHEELS OF JUSTICE DO NOT MOVE AS FAST AS NATURE GROWS GRAPES" —Cesar Chavez

TAKE A STAND

I enclose $_____ to help the farm workers survive the coming weeks or months without a working wage.

☐ I would like to help with the boycott of grapes, iceberg lettuce, Safeway and A. & P. Please send me more information.

YOUR NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

Make Checks Payable to "United Farm Workers Union".

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discussions of the possibilities not only of post-capitalist society, but also of post-growth economy, non-alienated creative work, and unoppressive sexual relations—a radical thrust in one-dimensional productive America.

The projections of Domhoff for grower and consumer food co-ops are already happening in communities across the country. Beyond this people in the communities are organizing such services as free medical clinics, consumer-oriented worker-controlled clothes stores and car repair garages; in some places there are even community lending and investing (in community-related projects) co-operatives. Theoretical projections have been made by people with such diverse social perspectives as Huey Newton, Shulamith Firestone (*Dialectics of Sex*), Abby Hoffman and Herbert Marcuse. The vision of the liberated society is alive in the authentic art and music that has sprung from the oppressed communities and the voluntary communities of the young. We must reject the notion that we have failed, that the revolutionary process must begin again from scratch, rather we should be realistic about how far we have come, how we move from where we are.

As to the proposal concerning the Democratic Party: it is hard to conceive how it would not be self-defeating. How are we to denounce the corporate capitalists while supporting their candidates out of party discipline. How are we to support the militant illegal activities of the movement while committed to a political party that depends on the stability of the political process for its power? "Revolutionary Democrats" sounds like an inherent contradiction to me—they are the party that sent 500,000 American troops to destroy Vietnam, that made high and false promises to the minorities and the poor, that smashed our heads in Chicago, that actively participated in the defeat of McGovern, the first candidate in decades with progressive pretensions. They are discredited by the active history of our times and will further discredit themselves in the future.

Let us not sink our vitality and vision in their rotting ship. Building a new party from the ground up is a longer, more totally consuming task than trying to infiltrate a corrupt old one, but it is the only way we can take our revolutionary message to the people with the sharp-edged clarity and social honesty that is necessary, the only way the people will relate to the party as a vehicle through which they can express their will. The Democrats can only teach us how to compromise and make deals, can only stunt us with their resignation in the face of political "reality" and their contempt for the people.

We must maintain the reality of an alternative to capitalist society. We can use the tools of the political system, but only on our own terms. We are building the revolution every day with our lives, and while we need to develop our analysis and strategy, our organization and communications, we need not run up the white flag and become a pesky pressure group, a progressive but effectively loyal opposition. Most important—we must have faith in the strength and ultimate wisdom of the pople, for they beyond the delineation of economic substructures and political superstructures are the source of all social power.

Guy B. Maynard, III
Veneta, Oregon

Editors / The dreams which make up the body of Mr. Domhoff's article in your February issue need to be exposed. The American people do not need a new "Populist" ideology or a new "Progressive" ideology. This is the gist of what Mr. Domhoff's article calls for in his plans for a reform Democratic—but still Democratic (capitalistic)—party. The only hope lies in mass, independent action. No matter how long it may take. Any other course is suicidal.

It is unfair to brush off the lessons of Chile with a single footnote. Under Mr. Domhoff's ideas this is the exact fate that awaits the American people also. Must be remind ourselves what we are ultimately talking about? What the future holds? And what Mr. Domhoff is presumably toying with?

That, simply, is revolution. And, as Mao Tse-tung correctly described it: "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

The Chilean people have been set back many years. We cannot afford to let the American people suffer the same fate. We must expose the idealists, like Mr. Domhoff, who are only buying time for the ruling class and the capitalistic system.

Name Withheld
Melbourne, Fla.

Domhoff replies: It's hard to answer three critics thoroughly in a few hundred words, so my comments will be cryptic.

Maynard and Allred think I fly in the face of reality because the Democrats as we have known them are bad news. I never thought otherwise in suggesting my strategy. I even wrote a book saying the same thing. But all that happens to be irrelevant—absolutely irrelevant—to what I propose. My suggestion is based upon an analysis of the structure and potentialities of the system, not the actions of Democrats past or present.

Maynard and Allred get hot about the corruptness of the Democrats. I've found radicals can really get it on over the immorality of the party of the common man, but I don't think a moralistic stance will win many converts. Nor do I think corruption a basis for judgment between my strategy and a third-party strategy. We could be pure as hell in Democratic party primaries, from precinct to President. Conversely, didn't some Peace and Freedom Party candidates take secret money from Republicans to beat Democrats in certain 1972 campaigns in California?

There are some distortions of my views in Maynard's letter. I've never thought the Sixties were "surface explosions or hapless flashes." I did say the New Left did not go further because it lacked (1) an alternative vision that was sufficiently concrete and (2) a viable political strategy. To say, as Maynard does, that "the blueprint for the liberated society" must be "developed from the lessons of our experience" is that overly general kind of truism which I felt had to be made more specific before further advances could take place. Maynard also is off base when he says I offer no vision "past the subversion of the Democratic Party." The idea about the Democrats is not the "vision." It is the political strategy—an open, not subversive, political strategy—through which corporate capitalist hegemony could be challenged on the basis of post-corporate, post-capitalist blueprints that have yet to be articulated in a concrete enough fashion to make the Democratic strategy I propose anything but the same old kind of reform strategy that we've seen with the Democrats before.

As for "name withheld": (1) I do not brush off the lessons of Chile. I am just not sure any movement—whether in China, Cuba, Vietnam or Chile—is a lesson for other movements. Each situation requires a unique strategy. (2) The author says "a revolution is an insurrection." Well, I doubt if an insurrectionary strategy will work in the United States. (3) Hey, I'm not an idealist, just a mix of skeptic, cynic, optimist, pragmatist and academician. Furthermore, capitalists survive on their own hook, not because of idealists, apologists, or even John Kenneth Galbraith. The system has more staying power than "name withheld" implies by his name-calling.

But where is the letter to the editor which will raise a serious challenge to this strategy?

[MIDDLE EAST]

Editors / The extent of emotionalism and lack of reality-based news coverage regarding the Middle-East situation have long contributed to the forces of exploitation and oppression in the area. Paul Jacob's article, "The Mood in Tel Aviv" [*Ramparts*, Jan. 1974] at least in part is another example of poor coverage. His generalization about the Left in Israel totally disregards the position of radical rather than liberal leftist individuals and groups.

Contrary to his statement, "they remain still committed to Israel's existence as a Jewish state" groups such as Matzpen propose, "The State of Israel must undergo a deep revolutionary change which will transform it from a Zionist state (a state of Jews all over the world) into a secularist state that represents the interests of the masses who live in it." (A. Bober's *The Other Israel*, p. 210) Israeli leftists such as Ron Livneh, presently a political prisoner serving a ten-year sentence on an alleged spy charge, have bravely exposed the injustices inevitable in a Zionist state.

As for Jacob's statement that "the activists of the Left and their supporters all fought in the war against the Arabs," he ignores the courageous stance of draft resisters and C.O.'s in Israel whose history dates back to 1948. The trial of resister

(*Continued on page 59*)

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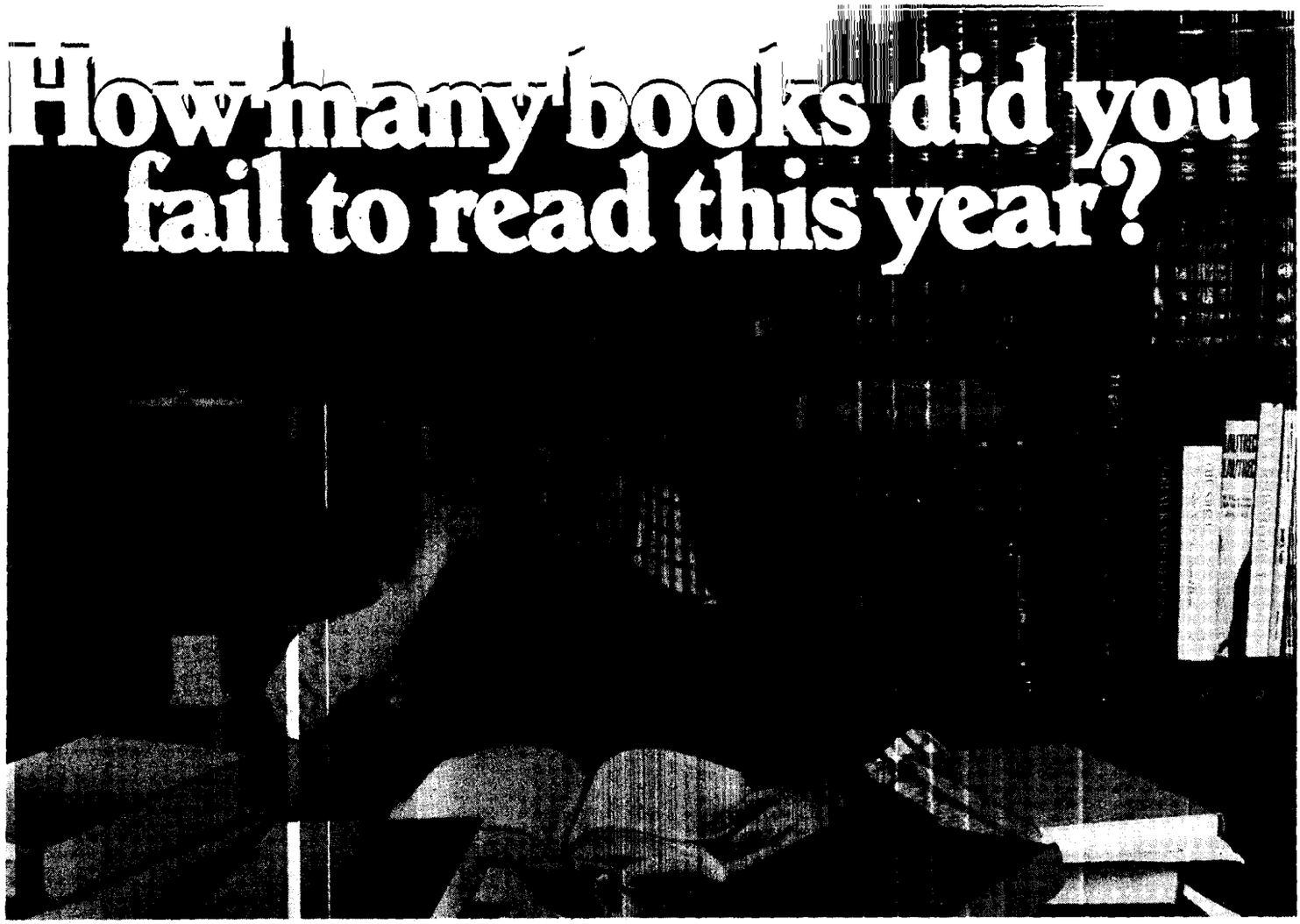

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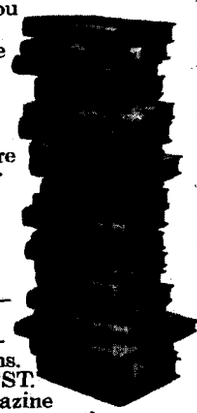

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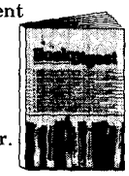

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UPI

"What the country needs is..."

by Peter Barnes

In May of 1944, the conservative *New York Daily News* published an editorial, complete with picture of TVA Chairman David E. Lilienthal, saying: "What the country needs is more TVAs." It was the fleeting height of TVA's popularity. The agency had driven private utilities out of the Tennessee Valley, built dozens of dams and steam generating plants, cut the price of electricity by 75 percent, made possible a vast expansion of aluminum production, and supplied the energy required to build the first atomic bomb. Top New Deal officials were talking about getting TVA into the aluminum business and setting up regional TVAs from coast to coast. Lilenthal wrote in his journal that month: "The TVA idea now has a good chance to become one of the important, fresh and vital ideas of my time."

It didn't work out that way, of course. When the war ended, the federal government turned over its enormous aluminum investments to Alcoa, Reynolds and Kaiser. Legislation to establish regional TVAs died in Congress under intense pressure from private utilities. TVA itself was prohibited from selling electricity outside its existing service area, and the "important, fresh, vital" idea of competitive public enterprise vanished from the political scene. Only now it has returned, thanks to lowered thermostats, long lines at gas stations, and soaring oil company profits.

The case for public development of energy resources has always been a strong one, except that nobody until recently seemed willing to make it. The non-competitive nature of the oil industry is well-known. So, too, is the takeover by oil companies of competing fuels—natural gas, coal, uranium, shale and geothermal steam. Yet despite the fact that at least half, and probably two-thirds, of all domestic energy reserves are located under public lands, the obvious alternative to oil company exploitation—the development of public resources in the public interest, on a not-for-profit basis—was either unthinkable or unmentionable for nearly a generation.

The renewed interest in public energy development comes in the form of a bill introduced by Senator Stevenson of Illinois. Stevenson is no radical, but he reads newspapers, listens to suggestions, and is financially independent of oil company contributions. As chairman of a subcommittee dealing with natural gas regulation, he planned a series of hearings to explore the oil companies' claim that greater economic incentives—e.g., deregulation of natural gas prices—are needed to stimulate production. In preparation for the hearings Stevenson met with Lee C. White, former head of the Federal Power Commission and presently spokesperson for an energy coalition funded by consumer, labor and public power groups. White outlined a plan for public development of energy resources on public lands. Stevenson was interested, and asked the Senate Commerce Committee staff to draft a bill. The result was proposed legislation, introduced in the form of an amendment to the Natural Gas Act, that would create a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation modeled after TVA, with authority to enter into the exploration, development, refining, transportation and distribution of petroleum and gas products.

At first Stevenson had little hope that the bill would get very far. He had lined up the usual small coterie of liberal co-sponsors—Senators Hart, Kennedy, McGovern, Mondale, Abourezk, et. al.—but didn't really believe the country was ready to challenge the private sector's exclusive "right" to develop resources on public lands. But, as is often the case, popular opinion was well ahead of where Washington liberals thought it would be, and the bill began to move.

Senator Warren Magnuson, chairman of the Commerce Committee, responded sympathetically. Majority leader Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Republican Silvio O. Conte and a flock of other New Englanders supported the bill in the House (New England has for years gotten the short end of the stick from the oil companies). Congressman Jerome Waldie, who is running for governor of California, converted the idea into a proposal for a state-level energy corporation; Edmund G. Brown, Jr., also in the gubernatorial race, followed suit with a similar proposal. Ralph

Senator George Norris at TVA dam under construction, Knoxville, Tenn., 1935.

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Nader began plumping for a federal energy corporation and found audiences enthusiastic. The UAW backed the idea, and George Meany went even further, calling for nationalization of the oil industry. Now Stevenson thinks the bill will get to the Senate floor this year, and just might pass. Its prospects in the House are dimmer, but a Democratic sweep next November could change that.

The legislation is not without its shortcomings. Lee White's original idea was to get the federal government into all aspects of energy production—coal, geothermal shale and solar as well as oil and gas; Stevenson's bill applies only to oil and gas. The bill limits the federal corporation to 20 percent of the oil and gas reserves on federal lands, authorizes appropriations of only $50 million a year, and restricts the corporation's ability to refine and market crude (only if it is unable to sell its crude to independent refiners would the corporation be allowed to operate its own refineries, and it could not retail directly to the public). Some of these restrictions may be modified when the bill is considered by the Senate Commerce Committee, or by the Senate as a whole. But even if the bill remains unaltered and, for the present, unpassed, its emergence into the realm of political acceptability is cause enough for modest celebration.

The public power movement in America was born on the western prairies in the 1880s; by 1892 the Populist Party was demanding government ownership of electric utilities, railroads, telephone and telegraph companies. These demands were co-opted by such turn-of-the-century reforms as the Sherman, Federal Trade Commission and Clayton Anti-Trust Acts, and by the parade of regulatory agencies created, ostensibly, to keep an eye on the private monopolists.

Interest in public enterprise, at least in the energy industry, revived again during the New Deal, when Senator George Norris of Nebraska, together with FDR, converted a government-owned nitrate plant and dam at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, into the nucleus of a full-fledged Tennessee Valley Authority. While FDR talked of blanketing the country with TVAs, Harold Ickes' Public Works Administration financed dozens of municipal power systems, and the Rural Electrification Administration subsidized rural electric and telephone cooperatives with two percent loans.

To the Populists' argument that "natural monopolies" in energy, communications and transportation should be publicly owned because of their power to extort vast profits, the New Deal added the concept of "yardstick competition." The "yardstick" argument ran something like this: Since regulation of private industry doesn't work (the regulators are quickly taken over by those whom they are supposed to regulate) and anti-trust laws are a tedious sham, the only way to preserve competition is to pit the public sector against the private sector. That way there will be economic checks and balances against too much private greed. If private corporations try to restrict supplies or artificially raise prices, the public will not only have enough facts to prosecute them under the anti-trust laws; it will also have the economic capability to increase supplies and bring prices down. "One TVA aluminum yardstick would be worth a dozen anti-trust suits against the Aluminum Company," was the way Thurman Arnold put it when a TVA aluminum plant was proposed.

Unfortunately, the New Deal's domestic program was largely sidetracked by World War II, and Truman's attempt to revive some of it was thwarted by the Republican congressional sweep of 1946 and the subsequent red-baiting of the McCarthy era. It has taken a full generation, plus an energy crisis, to get us back to the front lines of the 1930s—or perhaps it is the front lines of the 1890s.

Other countries have not been nearly so phobic about public enterprise. Stevenson himself points out that countries with publicly owned oil companies are more numerous than countries without them. British government control of British Petroleum dates back to 1914, when First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill decided that the British Navy ought not to be left to the mercy of private corporations. The British Gas Council, a Crown corporation, is producing natural gas on government holdings in the North Sea, and the new Labor government has announced plans to nationalize North Sea Oil production. France has its Compangie Française des Petroles, Italy its Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, Norway its Norwegian State Oil Company, Mexico its Pemex, Brazil its Petrobras, India its Oil India, British Columbia its B.C. Petroleum Corporation. Libya, Iraq and Venezuela have nationalized, or will soon nationalize, the private oil companies operating within their borders, and most other oil producing states plan to acquire at least 51 percent equity within the next few years. Only in America are we struggling just to catch up with our past.

There are dangers as well as opportunities ahead. One danger would be to create a federal oil corporation that is too weak to stand up against the private energy giants, and the Stevenson bill, as presently drafted, might do just that. A hamstrung federal corporation—one that was underfinanced, lacked its own refineries and retail outlets, had only a small share of the market, and couldn't acquire existing private facilities—would not only fail to be an effective force within the energy industry, but might well discredit the entire concept of public enterprise. That would be a major setback, given the proven failure of anti-trust laws and government regulation. On the other hand, there are dangers in complete nationalization of the energy industry, as advocated by George Meany and others. Even the generally positive experience of TVA shows that a giant state monopoly, which TVA is within its service area, can become unresponsive to people's concerns; TVA's obsession with strip-mining, for example, is as tenacious as any private utility's.

Nevertheless, if the U.S. moves now to catch up with its past in this one area, there is no telling what might happen next. A public energy corporation, or a series of them, might be followed by competitive public enterprises in other critical areas: autos, steel, aluminum, drugs, banking and insurance readily come to mind. The possibilities are exciting; but given the track record of the past century, celebration is premature.

Peter Barnes is West Coast Editor of New Republic *magazine.*

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The Great American Doom Machine

The crisis managers and war gamers have returned to the Pentagon. Forced into the background during the early Nixon years, when an Era of Negotiation was supposed to be replacing the Era of Confrontation, they are back in the saddle. The result is perfectly clear: a mounting effort is underway to rekindle the public's fears of the Russian menace, and revive the specter of nuclear war.

For the past few years, there has been little public debate on nuclear issues: partly because those who struggled against nuclear tests, against ABM, and against MIRV were exhausted; partly because attention shifted to the Vietnam War we were fighting rather than the nuclear war we could hardly even think about; and partly because both sides seemed to be accepting the nuclear stalemate. Now, however, the Nixon Administration is trying its best to stir up the old fears.

Last June, James Schlesinger was appointed secretary of defense, in the wake of Elliot Richardson's temporary shift to the Justice Department. Schlesinger had taught economics, written a book on national security and systems analysis, and spent most of the Sixties at the Rand Corporation studying defense strategy for the Air Force. He joined the government in 1969, serving first as the Budget Bureau's expert on military matters, then as the hard-nosed chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He had a brief stint running the CIA. Having made the rounds of the national security apparatus, Schlesinger still described himself cryptically to *Time* magazine as a "revivalist." What he seems to be reviving, though, are the dead doctrines of the past, preparing us for a nuclear Day of Judgment.

Early in January, Schlesinger announced that a change in nuclear strategy had taken place. The Defense Department now had "targeting options" which were "more selective" and which would not "necessarily" involve mass destruction on both sides. The Pentagon had started to retarget some of its missiles towards military installations, in addition to the cities that were already targeted, in order to give the President "greater flexibility and selectivity." Schlesinger was also moving ahead with plans to put more warheads on U.S. missiles, increase their explosive yield, improve their guidance systems, enable them to maneuver toward a pinpoint target, and introduce an entirely new intercontinental missile. All this was going on because the Russians might someday acquire the capability to carry out "selective attacks against targets other than cities," and the Defense Department had an "obligation" to see that the United States had a "comparable capability." In short, the Pentagon was getting ready to fight "limited" nuclear war.

by Leonard Rodberg

Illustration by Patrick Oliphant

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[“ASSURED DESTRUCTION”]

The rhetoric had a familiar ring. It recapitulated themes from the Sixties: from the Kennedy years, when the emphasis was on nuclear “options,” and from the Johnson era, when the stress was on responding to presumed Russian “capabilities.” Robert McNamara, the very model of the modern manager, descended upon the Defense Department in 1961 and proceeded, for a short while, to turn it into an analysis factory. Reams of studies flowed out, developing an ideology and a strategy for conducting nuclear war. The definitive statement from that period was delivered by McNamara in June 1962 at Ann Arbor, Michigan:

> *The U.S. has come to the conclusion that, to the extent feasible, basic military strategy in a possible general nuclear war should be approached in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been regarded in the past. That is to say, principal military objectives . . . should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not of his civilian population.*

This doctrine, usually called “counterforce strategy,” was the favorite of the military–and especially of the Air Force. It allowed them to play with all their old textbook ideas and to treat nuclear war no differently than ordinary, “conventional” World War II-type wars, except that they might be fought more quickly and with a little more blood. Above all, it sanctioned and precipitated an almost unlimited buildup of weapons, since each side would have to keep increasing its arms to assure that the other could not wipe them out in a surprise attack.

McNamara tried to introduce the counterforce (or, as it was quickly termed, the “city-avoidance” strategy) to take advantage of the excess of weapons he discovered when he took office–he had found that the highly-touted “missile gap” was actually in *our* favor. It also permitted him to belittle De Gaulle's attempt to declare independence from America–his nuclear *force de frappe* was too lightly armed to fight such a war.

However, within several years, McNamara became convinced that it was technologically impossible to avoid millions of casualties in even the most limited nuclear war. There would be too much nuclear fallout, too much confusion, too little control, for the theories of city-avoidance to work. And so he moved, slowly and reluctantly, to what he called “assured destruction,” and what others called “deterrence”–that is, to a strategy of ensuring a guaranteed high level of destruction for any nation that attacked us. Yet much of America's bloated arsenal remained targeted on Soviet military bases. There were, after all, only nine Russian cities with populations greater than one million–only 150 locales in the Soviet Union that even qualified as “cities”–and America had over 2000 nuclear warheads to aim at them.

Lyndon Johnson's attentions were elsewhere–though, with MIRV and ABM, he did his part to move the arms race up another notch. However Nixon tentatively reopened the question of nuclear strategy soon after taking office. In his first “State of the World” message–imperialism is more up-front these days–he asked the rhetorical question:

> *Should a President, in the event of a nuclear attack, be left with the single option of ordering the mass destruction of enemy civilians, in the face of the certainty that it would be followed by the mass slaughter of Americans?*

Similar questions were raised in each succeeding message. Until Schlesinger arrived, though, little seems to have been done to respond to the question. Politically, détente was in the air and, technologically, the necessary weaponry wasn't yet available. In 1974, with Nixon in trouble, with the Solzhenitsyn episode having made the Nixon-Brezhnev alliance something of an embarrassment, and with new weapons waiting in the wings, the time seemed ripe to answer the question.

[INSTITUTIONALIZED PARANOIA]

The Defense Department appears to be in considerable disarray, however, on what that answer should be. What seems to have happened is that Schlesinger soon discovered that the “options” which McNamara tried to build into America's nuclear strategy, in order to give the President some measure of “control” over the missiles and nuclear-armed bombers, had disappeared during Melvin Laird's reign in that office. Laird had turned most of the planning functions back to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and they had simply reverted to their preferred strategy, the full unleashing of the entire nuclear arsenal in time of war–what was fondly called, in the Fifties, the “wargasm strategy.” And so Schlesinger began, with his fledgling staff, to find some way of reconstituting the “controlled options” beloved of analysts and managers. The Joint Chiefs promptly unleashed a flurry of requests for new weapons to implement the new options–more accurate guidance systems, more powerful nuclear warheads, at least 600 more missiles. Pleading budgetary pressures, Schlesinger has held them at bay, but is allowing research, development, and planning to go forward on all of these, and more.

What might be viewed as a reasonable step to gain tighter control over nuclear weaponry has led again, through the inexorable processes of bureaucratic politicking, to larger and less reasonable steps. New strategic goals produce “military requirements” for new technologies; new “options” require new weapons.

But several other familiar dynamics are at work as well. As in the days of McNamara, the Defense Department finds itself with more missiles than it knows what to do with (its warhead count is now approaching 8000), and so it looks around for additional targets, and for new ways of justifying its arsenal. Formerly a single weapon might have been talked of in the Pentagon as a “city-buster,” but now they want a “hard-target killer,” a warhead which will destroy a single, “hardened” (i.e., concrete-encased) underground missile silo. And they want warheads that can be aimed, from 5000 miles away, at a single factory. As John S. Foster, Jr., the hawkish former R&D chief of the Pentagon, told the Congress several years ago, “A hard target to some people means a [missile] silo. A hard target to other people might be an industrial target . . . steel mills, for example.” Thus individual missile sites and single fac-

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"SAY, WE COULD GET LOST IN THIS THING."
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is going back to the "flexible retories become targets for the Pentagon's abundance of weapons.

In addition, Schlesinger—like his predecessors—wants to match abilities that the Russians do not yet have. He wants the equipment to destroy military targets, even as he tells the public that the Russians do not now have that ability, and will not until "some point around 1980 or beyond." This dynamic was described well, again by John S. Foster, in Congressional testimony:

> *We are moving ahead to make sure that, whatever they do, or the possible things we imagine they might do, we will be prepared . . . we see possible threats on the horizon, usually not something the enemy has done, but something we have thought of ourselves that he might do, and that we must therefore be prepared for.*

This, in a nutshell, is the institutionalized paranoia that has propelled America's military juggernaut for the past quarter century.*

Schlesinger's decision thus represents a confluence of political, technical, and bureaucratic imperatives. The primary one, though, seems to be Schlesinger's own view of the need for a wide range of nuclear "options." He sponse" doctrines of the early Sixties, trying to give the military the capacity to fight wars all along what the analysts call the "spectrum of conflict."

[IN SEARCH OF TARGETS]

The Pentagon's difficulties in learning what new technologies the Russians are developing serves as an excuse for moving into the next stage of the arms race years before the Russians do. In this case, the new technical innovation is the maneuvering reentry vehicle, or MaRV, in Pentagonese; it makes the new strategy feasible. In implementing the new war-fighting strategy, the Pentagon is planning not just to purchase the forces needed to aim at missile sites; it has been able to do this for years. What it really wants is the ability to destroy underground missile silos with a single ICBM warhead. Today, three or four Minuteman missiles would have to be launched to destroy a single Russian missile base. However the capacity to do this with a single shot can be available within the next decade, and military sources are now talking about doubling both the explosive yield and the accuracy of warheads to achieve this goal.

Once it has such high-precision warheads, the U.S. will be able to destroy a land-based missile force, such as the Russians rely on, before it can be launched. It will have, in other words, the capacity for nuclear surprise attack.

The Nixon Administration has repeatedly assured a worried Congress that it was not developing such a capacity. Nixon once told the Senate that "we have not developed, and are not developing, a weapon system having, or which could reasonably be construed as having, a first strike potential." The Congress refused several times to appropriate money for the "hard-target killer."

Nevertheless, research on MaRV has been underway continuously for more than five years. Immediately after the conclusion of the SALT agreements in 1972—as a sop to the military for its support—the Nixon Administration specifically allocated new funds for research on more accurate and powerful missile warheads. (This decision was not formally announced; it leaked out through William Beecher, then a *New York Times* writer with close contacts in the Pentagon—and now the Pentagon's information chief.) While the Air Force is close-mouthed about its efforts, the Navy has announced a $222 million program to put MaRVs on its Poseidon and Trident missiles.

MaRV is the successor to the MIRV multi-headed missile, which went into production in 1968. Whereas MIRV (the Pentagon's acronym for Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicle) is dropped off a maneuvering "space bus" while still far out in space, to coast down to its target, the new MaRV would maneuver during reentry into the atmosphere and guide itself to its target using some type of homing device.

Like many Pentagon programs, this one has been a weapon in search of a purpose, with floating justifications that shift with the political winds. Originally it was justified as a way of foiling a missile defense, by maneuvering out of the path of pursuing anti-missile missiles. Now, with large scale deployment of ABMs banned by the 1972 SALT treaty, MaRV is being justified by the new-found need, rationalized in the Schlesinger strategy, for missile-site-seeking nuclear warheads.

With MaRV nearing the time for full production and deployment, its importance has been symbolized by a significant bureaucratic realignment. The direction of the Advanced Ballistic Reentry Systems (ABRES) program, which has developed MaRV, is being taken out of the hands of the Air Force and placed directly in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, where Schlesinger can oversee this next stage in the nuclear spiral.

*** And things seem to be no different in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev describes in his memoirs how Eisenhower asked him, during their 1959 meeting at Camp David, how he decided on his military budget. First, Ike explained how it worked in America: "My military leaders say, 'Mr. President, we need such and such a sum for such and such a program.' I say, 'Sorry, we don't have the funds.' They say, 'We have reliable information that the Soviet Union has already allocated funds for their own such program.' So I give in. That's how they wring money out of me. Now tell me, how is it with you?"**

The Soviet Premier replied, "It's just the same. Some people say, 'Comrade Khrushchev, look at this: The Americans are developing such and such a system.' I tell them there's no money. So we discuss it some more, and I end up by giving them the money they ask for."

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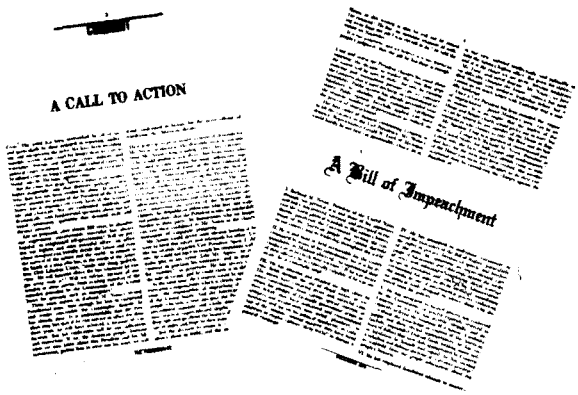

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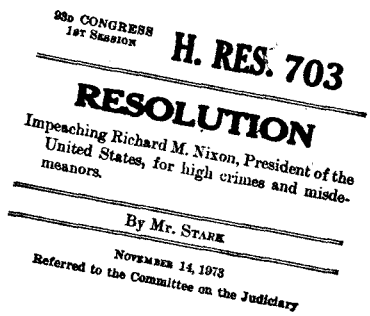

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By Mr. STARK

NOVEMBER 14, 1973

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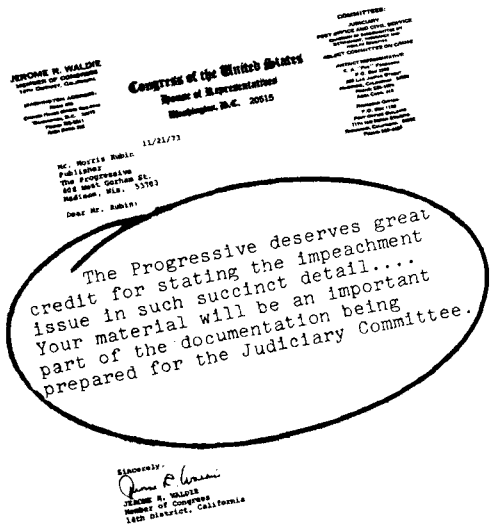

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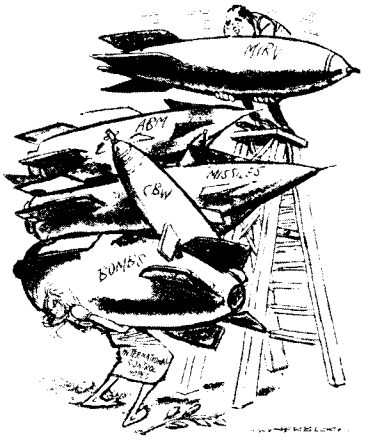
"DE-ESCALATE? WITHDRAW? NOT HERE ON THE SPENDING FRONT."
3/11/69



"YOU SEE, THE MORE ARMS WE HAVE, THE MORE WE'LL BE ABLE TO *DIS*ARM."
8/22/69

[PLANNING THE UNTHINKABLE]

Deterrence and war-fighting are not the most compatible concepts. By declaring that he is targeting nuclear weapons away from civilian targets and toward selected military sites, Schlesinger is undercutting the deterrent effect he claims, at the same time, to be supporting. Engaging in nuclear warfare appears a more feasible choice if civilian casualties can really be avoided. Increasing talk of war-fighting intensifies the ever-present pressures from the military services for fuzzing the line between nuclear and conventional weapons and for the use of nuclear weapons in situations where, until now, civilian leaders would have resisted their use. During the Vietnam War there were repeated suggestions from high military officers, and from some of their civilian technical advisors, that nuclear weapons be used to end the war sooner, eliminate North Vietnam's war-making capacity, clear away jungle foliage, or achieve some other technological quick-fix. Fortunately, these proposals were dismissed. Next time they might not be, if the new campaign to "conventionalize" nuclear weapons is a success.*

The "scenarios" of nuclear war which underlie such ideas seem to contain no recognition of the realities of Presidential decision making—the inadequate and often conflicting information he receives, the political motives that drive his advisors, the psychological pressures acting within him, the need for rapid action in a totally unprecedented situation. Much less traumatic events than impending nuclear war have produced demonstrably faulty Presidential judgments, based on misleading information, bad advice, and poor judgment—witness Nixon unleashing the Plumbers against Daniel Ellsberg. Here, though, there would obviously be no room for any second-guessing.

As the Schlesinger strategy is pursued, the use of nuclear weapons will become, to strategic planners and military advisors (if not to a President who maintains *some* perspective on what nuclear war is all about) a sane and reasonable choice. The notion of what Walt Whitman Rostow used to call "surgical strikes" will come back into favor, with a vengeance, for now they will be nuclearized. We saw how sloppy this surgery was in Vietnam, where every hamlet and village in some provinces was completely obliterated. Even ground troops, supposedly under the tightest, most direct control of all, wreaked havoc on the civilian population. "Command and control" bears little resemblance in combat to pre-war game theories. And yet the terrifying lessons of Vietnam have obviously not been learned where they are most needed—in the Defense Department.

The Pentagon seems even to have forgotten what a single nuclear explosion would be like. Schlesinger talks about a war in which each side attacks the opponent's missile sites without touching the population. And yet to destroy an underground missile silo, the nuclear warhead must be exploded close to the ground, throwing tons of radioactive dust into the sky and depositing lethal fallout tens and even hundreds of miles downwind.

Nor does this strategy take into account the full scale of the nuclear arsenals on both sides. Like most discussions of nuclear strategy, it focuses on land-based intercontinental missiles. They are vulnerable to attack, and thus the analysts can play computer-simulated war games, imagine offense-defense strategies, and so on. Meanwhile, both sides retain hundreds of missiles on submarines cruising unseen beneath the oceans, and hundreds of intercontinental bombers that would be airborne at the first sign of a nuclear crisis. All the strikes and counter-strikes between land-based ICBMs will have no effect whatsoever on thousands of warheads carried on submarines and aircraft, invulnerable to attack and ready for use at any time.*

The new strategy is a barrier to further negotiations that could reduce the present absurd levels of nuclear arms on both sides. If new weapons must be developed and new war-fighting capacities introduced, so the old argument goes, this is no time to be cutting back. Indeed, if the other side is so dangerous that we must be readying new modes of confronting him, we should not even be entering negotiations. In other words, the new emphasis on war-fighting is ready-made for those who oppose any negotiations with the Soviet Union over

*** This campaign extends to the so-called "*tactical*" weapon area. Smaller nuclear warheads are being developed for the short-range missiles now based in Western Europe. General Andrew Goodpaster, the NATO chief, told a Senate committee that these would "increase military effectiveness while reducing possible collateral damage [military jargon for civilian casualties], thereby increasing their utility as well as their acceptability in NATO planning and for employment in the NATO countries." Here, too, the military services hope to have nuclear weapons treated exactly like artillery shells and bullets.**

*** And these are not some insignificant residual force. On the contrary, the United States has 41 nuclear submarines, each carrying as many as 160 nuclear warheads, enough to wipe out civilization on this planet. (And, as if that were not bad enough, there have been persistent reports of heavy drug use among the crews of these boats, subjected to monotonous 90-day undersea cruises aboard these floating Doomsday Machines.)**

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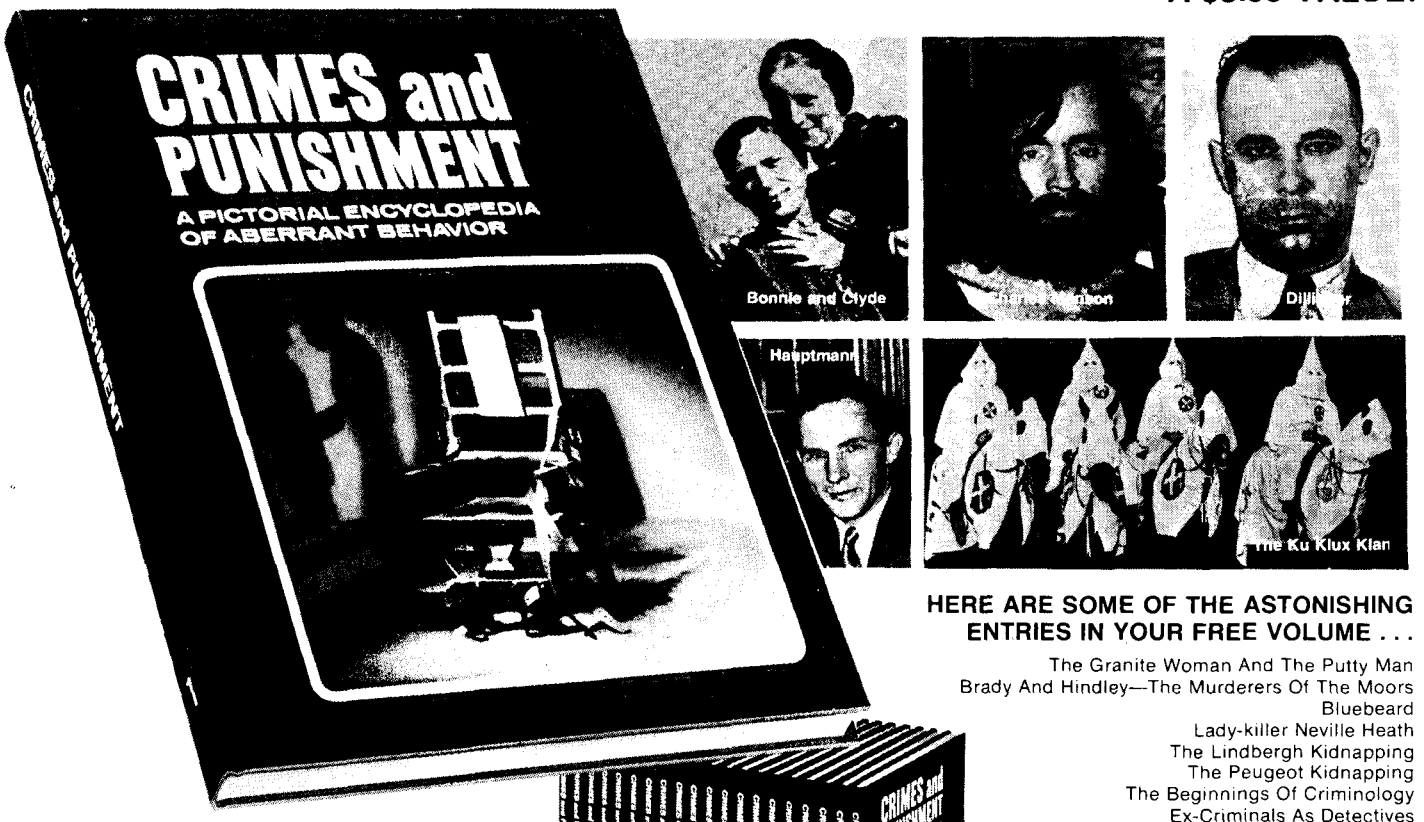

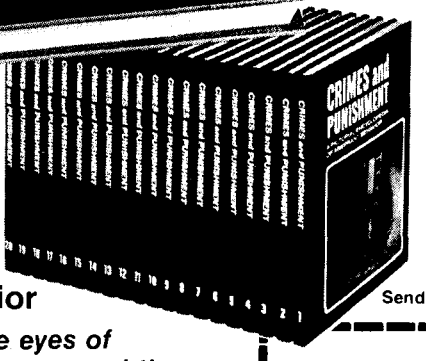

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strategic weapons.

The alternative has been suggested by, among others, Fred Ikle, the recently appointed director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He has proposed getting rid of the increasingly vulnerable land-based missiles, either through SALT negotiations or by unilateral decision, rather than attempting to prolong their life by making them more powerful and more accurate, or by planning to conduct inter-ICBM combat. (It was presumed in Washington that Ikle was speaking for Henry Kissinger, under whom he works in the foreign policy chain-of-command, but the peripatetic secretary of state has not been heard from publicly on this issue.) The answer to the growing problem of missile vulnerability is not to make Russian missiles equally vulnerable, but to eliminate them on both sides. They do nothing but threaten each other. Once vulnerable, they are of no use for deterrence, since they no longer provide a "credible" threat; they only provoke the fears they are supposed to assuage.

In any case, Schlesinger will probably have his way on the new strategy and technology. Only in the Senate is there any possibility of opposition to the counterforce strategy, and that body can control only the funds for specific weapons, not the contents of Defense Department planning. If history is any guide, the Congress will cut back the MaRV program, but will be unable to stop it, and it will have no impact at all on the new targeting.

Meanwhile, negotiations on the next stage of SALT will be moving ahead towards Nixon's June trip to Russia where he and Brezhnev are publicly committed to reaching agreement. With the Pentagon committed to a new strategy and new technologies, the most likely outcome is an agreement to discard a few obsolete missiles. The new program will go forward, and the Pentagon will have added to its catalogue of death a few more ways to atomize us all.

Leonard Rodberg is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC.

.....and Its Runaway Budget

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL BALLISTIC BALLOON
5/11/71

Neither war nor peace nor in between shall hold the Pentagon in its appointed bounds. American ground combat troops have been withdrawn from Indochina, relations between Washington on the one hand and Moscow and Peking on the other have improved considerably, and President Nixon has proclaimed a "generation of peace." Therefore, using the impeccable logic of the Nixon Administration, the country needs the biggest military budget in history.

Military funds can be calculated two ways: as "outlays" (total annual expenditures) and as "obligational authority" (which includes some down payments on new weapons systems spread over several years). In Fiscal 1975 the total obligational authority for the military will exceed $100 billion when the Pentagon's supplemental requests and the AEC's weapons programs are included. That sum approximates Lyndon Johnson's *total* federal budget before the upsurge in Vietnam War costs, and surpasses in current dollars any military budget anywhere at any time.

The Pentagon and its new chief, James Schlesinger, are quick to lay out a whole range of rationales for this continuing hike in military costs. (1) Inflation brings price rises for the Pentagon as well as the housewife. (2) The all-volunteer army requires higher pay rates. (3) The Soviets are aggressively developing new weapons. (4) The U.S. needs "bargaining chips" for the SALT II negotiations. (5) The war in the Mideast revealed shortcomings in military preparedness. (6) Besides, "national defense" is only 29 percent of the federal budget.

Let us examine these rationales in turn, then look at the Pentagon's semi-hidden agenda.

* * *

(1) Inflation does affect the military's budget. However the Pentagon is requesting funds which exceed by eight percent the rate of inflation, according to a staff study prepared for the Joint Economic Committee. Moreover the military is itself a major *cause* of inflation. The Pentagon pumps large sums into the economy for goods and services which cannot be further utilized by American consumers. For all their economic (as separate from military) value, the weapons produced by Lockheed, General Dynamics *et. al.* might as well be scrapped now.

* * *

(2) The all-volunteer army does require higher pay rates to make it competitive with civilian employment. However it does *not* require a top-heavy command structure or a small minority assigned to combat jobs. There are today more senior officers commanding armed forced of 2.2 million than there were in World War II commanding 12 million. Last year Admiral Hyman Rickover told the House Appropriations Committee, "I would also reduce over a period of five years the number of flag and senior officers by 50 percent from what they are now. If you would do that we would have a far more efficient military organization." Not to mention a cheaper one. As for the combat-support ratio,

by Sanford Gottleib

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Colonel Edward King (U.S. Army, ret.) estimated before the Senate Armed Services Committee last June that only 24 percent of the Army, 12 percent of the Navy, 28 percent of the Marines and 8 percent of the Air Force were assigned to combat jobs.

* * *

(3) The Soviets are developing new weapons. However they have to play catch-up ball in a game where we have set the pace for years. Former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said in 1967 that the "most meaningful and realistic measurement of nuclear capability" is the number of separate nuclear warheads. Each warhead, an H-bomb, can destroy a city. The U.S. arsenal increased from 4,200 strategic warheads in 1968 to 8,000 at present; the Soviet counterpart expanded from 1,200 to 2,600 in the same period.

The Pentagon doesn't talk about warheads, but rather about the less meaningful categories such as megatonnage in which the Soviets are ahead. As the State Department wrote at the time of the SALT agreement: "The U.S. has more, smaller weapons; the Soviet Union has fewer, larger weapons. This gives the USSR a lead in megatonnage, but . . . it is not the total megatonnage that counts. It is the effectiveness—best measured in 'equivalent megatonnage.' By this measure, the U.S. and the USSR are roughly comparable." In other words, there's overkill on both sides. Neither bigger bombs nor more bombs will improve the security of the superpowers.

* * *

(4) The Administration's claim that it needs funds for additional weapons as "bargaining chips" at SALT II would sound more plausible if we didn't already have evidence that these "chips" lead to *higher* levels of armament. Once major weapons systems are begun, for whatever reason, the vested interests in jobs, profits and careers make it difficult to negotiate these arms away. A case in point is the anti-ballistic missile. One of the many rationales offered for the ABM, a weapons system which is provocative at worst and useless at best, was its value in negotiations. The SALT agreement limited ABM's to two sites in each country. Since the U.S. did not have any functioning ABM sites at the time the treaty was signed, it proceeded to construct one. SALT I thus became a "bargain" in which we deployed weapons which did not previously exist. Moreover, the treaty permitted deployment of an unlimited number of multiple nuclear warheads on a fixed number of missiles, fueling another spiral in the arms race.

* * *

(5) The Pentagon is seeking to piggyback on reactions to the Mideast War to press for programs which may have little relevance to that area. Schlesinger, for example, has been promoting an expanded worldwide airlift. Yet the Military Air Command, which operated the massive, sustained airlift to Indochina, has over 500 long-range planes which are utilized at less than 70 percent of capacity. Another 1,000 planes are available in case of emergency through the Civil Reserve Air Fleet. What foreign adventures does Secretary Schlesinger anticipate?

* * *

(6) The category known as "national defense" is only 29 percent of the Fiscal 1975 budget—but only because the trust funds such as Social Security, Railroad Retirement, and the Highway Trust Fund are rapidly swelling the size of the budget pie. Until Fiscal 1969 these trust funds were considered as separate cookie jars for which the government is simply the caretaker. Their integration into today's unified budget is the main reason why federal outlays have jumped 23 percent in only two years. The Social Security fund, now operating for almost 40 years, will alone account for $64 billion in outlays. As the trust funds propel the budget to $304 billion, the slice for the military looks smaller even though it's the biggest "defense" slice ever served.

The seven biggest categories of outlays in the Fiscal 1975 budget, in billions of dollars, provide a more complete picture of the funds available to Congress:

a. Income security (including Social Security, federal employees retirement, Railroad retirement) 100.1
b. National defense (not including supplemental appropriations or AEC-military) 87.7
c. Interest on the national debt (mainly costs of past wars) 29.1
d. Health 26.3
e. Veterans payments (costs of past wars) 13.6
f. Commerce and transportation 13.4
g. Education 11.5

These figures show that social insurance trust funds (which cannot be spent for other purposes), the military, and costs incurred through past wars make up the lion's share of the budget. Members of Congress cannot for legal reasons touch the trust funds or for political reasons touch the money earmarked to pay off the costs of past wars. If interested in new priorities, they must cut military expenditures and/or close the tax loop holes.

There is another dimension to the problem, hidden just below the surface but perhaps more important today than any other factor in keeping military expenditures high. The Pentagon has been viewed as a generator of jobs since the Cold War began. The Nixon Administration clearly sees it as a basic prop to the economy. On February 26 Chairman George Mahon of the House Appropriations Committee claimed he had been told "with considerable authority" that about $5 billion had been added to the military budget to help "stimulate the economy." Secretary Schlesinger agreed that Mahon was "quite right" in the sense that "there is a measure of economic stimulation" in the Pentagon's request, but put the figure at $1-1.5 billion.

The mood of Congress is somewhat sceptical but hardly combative, in part because of nervousness over unemployment. So far the toughest note has been struck by Senator William Proxmire. ". . . The Pentagon has not only swallowed the entire peace dividend," said Proxmire, "but has added almost $12 billion on top of that since the end of the [Vietnam] war. To add insult to injury they now want the country to believe that that characterizes a great act of penance and of economy in government. This is not yet 1984. Spending is not saving. War is not peace. Fiscal restraint and an anti-inflation program are not achieved by the biggest peace-time budget increase in the history of the United States, including a whopping jump in the Pentagon's largesse."

Sanford Gottlieb is executive director of SANE in Washington.

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Funeral of Marcus Foster

The Symbionese Liberation Army:

Terrorism and the Left

At about 7 PM on November 6, 1973, three armed figures emerged from the darkness of a parking lot behind the Oakland school district administration building and opened fire. In a scenario that seemed straight out of a Hollywood B-release, the black superintendent of Oakland's public schools was cut down in a hail of cyanide bullets and shotgun blasts. As the killers fled, Marcus Foster lay dead on the pavement, near the writhing body of his seriously wounded white aide.

The following day, "Communique #1" from a group calling itself the Symbionese Liberation Army Western Regional Youth Unit was received by the media. The communique contained a "Warrant Order" for the execution of Foster and his aide, and a three point "indictment" of the Oakland School Board. It concluded with a phrase made popular by Eldridge Cleaver: "Death to the Fascist Insect that Preys Upon the Life of the People."

Up to that time, few, if any, had heard of the Symbionese Liberation Army. Moreover, while the rhetoric of the "Warrant" and "Indictment" bore resemblances to some Left rhetoric, the act itself was so brutal, so morally unjustifiable and so politically incomprehensible, that most Bay Area radicals assumed the "SLA" to be a cover for some right-wing or police group, or perhaps even a criminal gang seeking to settle an obscure debt, and throw suspicion onto the Left in the process.

For two months, there were no leads in the Foster case. And then a chance encounter between two SLA members and police during a routine traffic check led to a gun battle and the subsequent arrest of Russell Little and Joseph Remiro (who turned out to have been one of the founders of a local VVAW chapter). In their possession, the police found the weapon alleged to have murdered Foster.

A week later, the press received an open letter from Nancy Ling Perry, who was being sought in connection with an arson attempt on the house where Remiro and Little had been staying. Her letter began with a set phrase that was to open all subsequent SLA communications: "To

by the Editors

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those who would bear the hopes and future of the people, let the voice of their guns express the words of freedom." Perry said that she was a "freedom fighter" in an SLA intelligence/information unit, that she had adopted the name "Fahizah," and that the killing of Foster was not indiscriminate, but stemmed from his support for "political police state programs," similar to the one in South Africa, in Oakland's schools. Killing him, she said, was "the only means left open to us to demand that the people's wishes be met, and that all such dangerous, genocidal programs be stopped."

Within three weeks of Nancy Ling Perry's letter, and a month of the Remiro-Little arrest, Patricia Hearst was kidnapped from the house in Berkeley's "South Campus" area where she had been living as a student. The Symbionese Liberation Army had become front page news across the nation.

A week later, the media received tapes of several messages from the SLA. These included a "Declaration of Revolutionary War" against the "Fascist Capitalist Class, and all their agents of murder, oppression and exploitation." It also included tapes of the voices of Patricia Hearst, and SLA General Field Marshall "Cinque" (identified by the media as Donald DeFreeze, an escaped prisoner), and a set of demands. As an earnest of "good faith," ensuring the continued safety of the "prisoner of war," Patricia Hearst, her father (Randolph A. Hearst) was told to provide $70 worth of food for all people with welfare cards, social security pension cards, food stamp cards, disabled veteran cards, medical cards, parole or probation papers, and jail or release slips. The time for distribution of the food (a point of importance subsequently) was one month, and was to begin the following week. Several radical organizations were named by the SLA as distributors of the food.

At least one group, the United Farmworkers' Union, refused to have anything to do with the SLA program. And although others did cooperate in the food distribution, they did so reluctantly, and justified their actions in negative terms. They did not want to deny food to the poor; they did not want to endanger the life of Patricia Hearst. For the SLA itself, there was no support forthcoming from Left organizations in the area. Several radical leaders, including Cesar Chavez, Huey Newton, and Angela Davis, roundly condemned the SLA actions. Only a sprinkling of letters in the *Berkeley Barb,* including a message from the Black Liberation Army and an equivocal communique from Bernardine Dohrn and the "Weather Underground," offered the Symbionese army and its revolutionary war a semblance of moral support.

In part this was because the Left has learned well the lessons of its failures in the Sixties–that, without a political base among significant sections of America's ethnic communities and working classes, no action, however audacious, can succeed against the cooptive and coercive forces of the world's most powerful state. In part, however, the Left's coolness to the SLA was not pragmatic at all, but *moral,* and in that way profoundly political. It was the conviction that in killing Marcus Foster and in kidnapping Patricia Hearst the SLA had not pitted revolutionary violence against the violence of the oppressor–the power of the people against the power of the rich.

[A LICENSE TO KILL]

Marcus Foster was the first black superintendent of schools in Oakland's history. His appointment had come as the result of a major struggle waged by community groups, who wanted an administrator responsive to the needs of Oakland's black, chicano and poor communities, constituting more than 70 percent of the Oakland school population. For three years, Marcus Foster had shown himself to be a liberal ally of the community forces in their efforts to wrench concessions from the Republican majority on the Oakland School Board. Among his achievements, for example, was the introduction of bi-lingual instruction at an East Oakland grammar school near the Del Monte cannery, long a demand of the local chicano community, and another bilingual program in Oakland's Chinatown area.

Ultimately, however, Foster was a product of the forces brought to bear on him. Sometimes he bowed too precipitously to the white conservative majority on the School Board. (Legally the Board sets policy guidelines and the superintendent, as the Board's employee, administers them. In practice, his influence is somewhat greater.) Nonetheless, the perception of Foster as an important ally of the third world and poor communities in the Oakland school struggle was so strong and so generally accepted, that seasoned radicals familiar with the situation are convinced that his assassination was the work of police agents who regarded him as too liberal. In support of this hypothesis, they point to the fact that in last spring's mayoral election, Bobby Seale polled nearly 40 percent of the vote, an unprecedented showing for a radical in so large a city.

The issue which cost Foster his life was a controversial report issued by the Alameda County Grand Jury in mid-July. The report dealt with truancy, violence and vandalism in the Oakland schools and resulted in a proposal to revive student identification systems in seven high and junior high schools, and to appoint a handful of "safety coordinators" with law enforcement backgrounds to deal with problems in the pilot institutions. A first draft of this proposal had been signed by Foster, but the plan itself was still in negotiation between the School Board and a funding agency (the California Council on Criminal Justice), and the tide of community opposition was mounting. Foster, in fact, had prematurely leaked the proposal to a local journalist, whom he knew would be hostile to its recommendations and would alert community forces, grouped in the Coalition to Save Our Schools, against it.

On October 9, when the School Board met, the community pressure had grown so great that Foster announced he had withdrawn the proposal from the agenda, saying "the program might never get funded because the schools and the funding body might never get together." Knowing that over Foster stood the conservative Oakland School Board, a series of speakers, including leaders of the Coalition to Save Our Schools and Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, rose to attack the withdrawn proposal and serve notice that, if the Board did not confirm Foster's withdrawal action, the community was ready for a major fight.

Then, on November 6, less than a month after this meeting, when the issue seemed almost dead, the SLA "exe-

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cuted" Foster, and the following day, issued the "Warrant" for the execution. It was a grisly extension of the Queen of Hearts' justice in *Alice in Wonderland:* first the sentence, then the verdict. The warrant itself showed the executioners to be far removed from the realities of the Oakland school situation (indeed, from reality itself):

SUBJECT: The Board of Education, The Implementation of the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

WARRANT ORDER: Execution by Cyanide Bullets. Date: November 6, 1973.

WARRANT ISSUED BY: The Court of the People.

CHARGES: Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of a Political Police Force operating within the Schools of the People. Supporting and taking part in the forming and implementation of Bio-Dossiers [no one has been able to guess what this refers to–Eds.] through The Forced Youth Identification Program. Supporting and taking part in the building of composite files for the Internal Warfare Identification Computer System.

TARGET: Dr. Marcus A. Foster, California, Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent, Oakland, California.

On the afore-stated date, elements of the United Federated Forces of the SLA did attack the Fascist Board of Education, Oakland, California, through the person of Dr. Marcus A. Foster, Superintendent of Schools, and Robert Blackburn, Deputy Superintendent.

This attack is to serve notice on the Board of Education and its fascist elements that they have come to the attention of the SLA and the Court of the People and have been found guilty of supporting and taking part in crimes committed against the children and the life of the people.

The receipt of this communique was made public as one leader of the black Oakland community after another, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Assemblyman John J. Miller, and Black Panthers Huey Newton and Bobby Seale expressed their outrage and grief at the murder of Foster.

Not a single community group had called for the ouster of Foster, let alone his death. In whose name and on whose behalf did the SLA execute Foster? In what sense is their Court of the People, *of* the people at all? In what sense is it a court? Foster was given no chance to answer the charges, or plead his case. Indeed, the three-point indictment of Foster and the School Board (the SLA makes no distinction between the two) is mainly a weak effort to link the withdrawn proposals with police practices in outposts of the American empire:

The Board of Education has taken upon itself the role of forming and supporting a Special Political Police Force to occupy and patrol the schools in our cities. The vast Black, Chicano, Asian and conscious White Youth communities of the Oakland-Berkeley area understand that this newest extension of police surveillance is patterned after fascist Amerikan tactics of genocide murder and imprisonment practiced by Amerikan-financed puppet governments in Vietnam, The Philippines, Chile and South Africa.

The indictment is completely vague. There is no effort to determine specific guilt. Even assuming the bizarre interpretation of the significance of the Alameda County Grand Jury report and plan, the question of Foster's responsibility is surely not unimportant. Was he an employee or a policy-maker? Was he a reluctant or active supporter of the program in question? Under the SLA's doctrine of guilt, every employee of every government agency, local or federal, civilian or military, could be held responsible for the crimes already committed in Vietnam, Chile, etc., and, under the SLA's standard for matching punishments with crimes, put to death. But perhaps the vagueness has a purpose: perhaps it is just a license to kill.

Marcus Foster, 1923-1973

In "executing" Marcus Foster and in making no effort to justify that execution by any doctrine of specific guilt, the SLA assumes the power of life and death over everyone. It has made no serious attempt to establish any legitimacy for its actions; it has a "court," but the court has no apparent function other than to sanction executions and authorize kidnaps. It recognizes no authority except its own will, which it identifies with the will of the people in much the same manner that many psychopathic killers claim to be instructed by God. It has killed a defenseless individual whose guilt is not only not proved, but is mainly a fantasy of his executioners. It has committed a crime not only against the individual in question, but against the entire black, brown and Asian communities of Oakland.

And yet there have been a few radicals who have tried to look beyond what they call this "immense political mistake," to offer support to the SLA in its other actions. Such radicals confuse the defense of revolutionary violence –that is, a legitimate violence on behalf of a community

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Catherine and Randolph Hearst

defending itself against the violence of the oppressor, when there are no other means available to it—with the criminal violence of the SLA, which is accountable to no community and recognizes no moral code of responsibility.

"Do we really believe every Vietnamese village chief cut down by the NLF deserved to die?" asks one former New Left activist. "Have we such supreme faith in the Cuban government that we can state categorically its revolutionary firing squads were never aimed in the wrong direction?" But the Cuban Government and the NLF are legitimized by mass movements numbering millions of supporters, by political organs, by legal codes which are enforced and respected (not mere camouflage and window dressing), by courts of justice and judicial review procedures to which military functionaries are responsible and to whom they can be held accountable. They have a concept of the criminal abuse of revolutionary authority, and of illegal procedure, as distinct from mistakes due to human error.

Unlike the NLF, which was called into being by a political mass movement as a strategy of self-defense under conditions in which there really was no political alternative, the SLA is a self-appointed vigilante group. Its authority derives from no source outside its own will. Its sense of threat from the system is personal, not collective. That its first action should be the assassination of an unarmed black educator (and its second the kidnap of an unarmed innocent woman) is surely not unconnected to these operating assumptions, nor irrelevant to the assessment of the SLA's basic character. To argue otherwise is to maintain that in the name of the revolution any crime is permissable, and by extension that any criminal gang can commit a crime and justify it in advance by presenting it in political terms.

[COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY DRAMA]

The difficulty of converting criminal acts into revolutionary gestures is real, however, and is dramatized by the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. Those isolated voices that praise the "profoundly revolutionary character" of the Hearst kidnapping can do so only by abandoning even their own narrowly pragmatic criteria for evaluating revolutionary acts. "The important thing about revolutionary action" explains Bernardine Dohrn in the Weather communique, "is its political effect, its direction, what it teaches and strengthens."

What have been the political effects of the Hearst kidnapping? It has created more public sympathy across all class lines for the Hearst family than it has been able to muster for more than half a century. It has taken Catherine Campbell Hearst, a symbol of reaction and white racism on the Board of Regents of the University of California, a leader in the fight against the Free Speech Movement and in behalf of the move to fire Angela Davis, and it has placed her before millions as a terror-stricken and heartbroken mother. It has made the recipients of the ransom, those poor and oppressed people whose interest the SLA claims to serve, the objects of humiliation and abuse as the beneficiaries of extortion and the recipients of blood offerings. It has created a pretext for repressive police actions against revolutionary, prison and welfare groups, including the Coalition to Save Our Schools, and a climate of fear in which police agents always do their best work. Federal and local police agencies have already gone to work preparing indictments against known radicals in the Oakland area, and at least one uninvolved activist whom police are seeking to link with the SLA has been arraigned on felony charges.

The blanket of fear that has spread in the wake of the SLA actions is all the more problematical, because it has no focus either in its source or aim (a consequence of the fact that the SLA has shown itself to be grounded in no constituency or framework of moral right). Thus the Reverend Cecil Williams, a revered figure in the Bay Area black community, a man well-liked by all factions of the Left, and who for this reason was chosen by the SLA to receive its communiques and help distribute the food, within weeks after assuming this responsibility, felt it necessary to protect his family with bodyguards. In these ways, the SLA has made the work of the Left, already difficult in a period of pessimism and demoralization, far more difficult. In sum, the effect on consciousness of the SLA's actions, beyond reminding people that there are rich and poor (which surely could have been accomplished in other ways), has been decidedly negative, creating sympathy for the ruling class, credibility for the police and paranoia for the radical movement.

These effects were a predictable consequence of the action itself. The very structure of the Hearst-type kidnap embodies negative results for revolutionaries: in order that the action be successful, the kidnappers (i.e., the revolutionaries) must demonstrate their ruthlessness, their willingness to take the life of an innocent hostage; on the other

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hand, the target of the kidnap (the ruling class oppressor), must demonstrate his humanity, his willingness to sacrifice material possession and power to save a human life. In short, a kidnap dramatizes the very reverse of the revolutionary program. The revolutionaries who claim to speak for the human interest against the property interest, appear instead on the other side of the equation, as traders of money for life. If the kidnap is successful, the ruling class demonstrates that it has a heart. If the kidnap fails, the revolutionaries show that they can hold life lightly, that they too can kill. And all this is done in the public spotlight!

From the point of view of mass consciousness, it can almost be said that only if the kidnap were to fail from every point of view would it succeed as a revolutionary gesture—that is, if Hearst had refused to make *any* effort to save his daughter, and if the SLA then released her unharmed.

Of course, there may be political contexts in which specific types of kidnapping do not have the moral implications of the SLA action. In the film *State of Siege,* an agent of a foreign controlling power, specifically charged with the training of political police and police torturers (and shown to be guilty of the charge), is kidnapped in a country whose servile political and judicial structures are totally complicit with the system of police torture and repression. He is held as a hostage not to his family, but to his *employer,* the U.S. government, which is responsible for creating the police system and the servile condition of this satellite state. He is held for the release of the political prisoners of precisely that police system which he helped to create.

But none of these conditions remotely apply to the Hearst kidnapping or to the present political situation in America.

[A DOOMED STRATEGY]

Several radicals have noted the lack of parallels and have criticized in particular the choice of victims. "No doubt the popularity of the movie *State of Siege* helped motivate and teach the SLA," commented Jerry Rubin, "but the Tupamaros would never kidnap the innocent daughter of a capitalist criminal." Yet one must ask whether this is merely another "political error," or whether it does not stem from a deeper dualism in the SLA strategy?

Officially the SLA announced its aims in disinterested and generous revolutionary terms: "We have heard it said that Mr. Hearst wants to save his daughter, we want to save all the children and people. In an effort to answer some of the basic needs of the people, we are asking for a symbolic gesture of good faith from this representative of the corporate state." This symbolic gesture was the provision of $70 worth of food to any poor person that came to claim it, the food to be delivered within one month. The SLA's Field Marshal Cinque was at pains to stress that "our interest is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves. Since the people shall always come first in our hearts and souls."

Yet at the same time there was a clear signal from the SLA that self-interest might be at least an equally powerful motive behind this kidnap. Accompanying the SLA

Patricia Hearst and fiance, Stephen Weed

demands was a tape of Patricia Hearst's voice, which carefully outlined this other interest: "I am a prisoner of war and so are the two men in San Quentin," she explained, referring to Little and Remiro who had been captured less than three weeks earlier. "I am here because I am a member of a ruling class family and I think you can begin to see the analogy. The people, the two men in San Quentin, are being held and are going to be tried simply because they are members of the SLA and not because they've done anything. Witnesses to the shooting of Foster saw black men. And two white men have been arrested for this." She explained that Little and Remiro were apparently part of an intelligence unit and had never executed anyone themselves. "You have to understand that I am held to be innocent the same way the two men in San Quentin are innocent," i.e., as members of opposing armies. "You're being told this so that you'll understand why I was kidnapped and so that you'll understand that whatever happens to the two prisoners is going to happen to me."

From the moment that the two unrelated objectives of freeing the SLA prisoners and providing food for California's poor were joined, the tortured consequences of the action were foredoomed. From that moment, Patricia Hearst and California's poor would be linked as pawns in a desperate struggle to compel the state to release Remiro and Little, while convincing the public that the SLA was acting in the people's interest and that any harm to the hostage could only come from the agents of the fascist corporate military empire, and in particular Randolph Hearst and the FBI.

S.F. Examiner

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It is not necessary to go over the details of the subsequent negotiations (which at the time of writing are still in process) to see that from the outset Hearst could hardly be expected to believe that a goodwill gesture on his part, whether the two million dollars worth originally offered, or the subsequent six million demanded and given, or for that matter ten million, would ensure the return of his daughter. On the other hand, the SLA's demands themselves were hardly intelligible in terms of a primary interest in feeding poor people.

In the beginning, the food distribution was stupidly and callously handled, and the amounts delivered were inadequate. This was partly because the SLA demanded that the distribution begin in an unrealistically short time, and partly because the machinery for feeding people in need does not really exist in this "post-industrial democracy." Over subsequent weeks, however, the distribution and quality of the food was much improved. Then, in the midst of a two-and-a-half-week SLA silence, complaints were heard from Remiro and Little about their mistreatment at San Quentin, and their inability to hold a press conference. This produced SLA communique number 3, whose purpose was to secure the public hearing for Remiro and Little, but which launched a bitter and unjustified attack on the food as "hog feed"; on the alleged failure to provide more than $8 worth per head; on the fact that extra food was donated (as though this reduced Hearst's commitment, whereas it actually increased the amount of food); and on the fact that all the food was supposed to be distributed within a month, whereas Hearst had evolved a plan to distribute the food over a year and in effect to set up an ongoing relief program called People In Need, which could receive additional donations.

This conflict produced a fascinating irony: "I can understand the SLA's frustration or anger on the food program," Hearst told reporters after the complaints of communique no. 3, "because basically we made the initial mistake of thinking that a supplemental program that would last a long time would be more desirable than one that would be over rather quickly." The prospective recipients might well have agreed. The SLA, however, may have wanted the food distributed quickly as a prelude to the next phase of negotiations, the freeing of Remiro and Little. (As of this writing, there are indications that Remiro and Little themselves will ask the SLA to free Patricia Hearst, a gesture that would indicate some measure of political sense and humanity on the part of the SLA.)

[OUT OF A NIGHTMARE]

The SLA's emergence is directly attributable to the collapse of the organized Left at the end of the Sixties, and its continuing failure to regroup itself and revive. In periods of demoralization, such acts of desperate violence are often conceived as protests against inaction itself, and vigilante groups like the SLA see themselves as substitutes for the missing mass organizations. The very presence of a mass movement acts as a restraint on destructive violence, since it creates a moral community for people in revolt.

Although at this writing barely a month has elapsed since the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, the identities of the dozen or so people who make up the SLA are already known to the police; at least one Bay Area journalist from the major media has already written a detailed account of the SLA's origins and development, identifying the individuals by name (the story has been suppressed at the request of Randolph Hearst). On the other hand, the FBI is taking around a list of suspects which is more than twice as long as the SLA roster and contains the names of many dedicated radicals in the Bay Area whose threat is not as kidnappers and killers but organizers of the working class and poor. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, meanwhile, is gearing up for a new witch-hunt.

Under the circumstances, we do not feel it politically wise or proper to discuss in detail the specific political roots of the SLA. Several facts, however, are already public. It is clear that many of the individuals came together in the Black Culture Association at the Vacaville correctional facility, and that the SLA is a fusion of black prisoners (perhaps no more than two) with non-prison radicals holding beliefs in the necessity of immediate armed struggle, the fascist character of the present American state, and the revolutionary mission of the "lumpen" elements of the population.

The society encompassed by America's prisons corresponds fairly precisely to that nightmare vision of a fascist military corporate state engaged in internal warfare against its own people which underlies the SLA's general strategy. It is the cadre forming the other side of the alliance, whose base is outside the prison walls, that have to be seen as crucial to the emergence of the SLA. For if the radicals, operating in a non-prison context, were not ready to confirm what is essentially a prison view of American society, and act upon it, then the SLA could not have embarked on its tragic course.

Until more information is made public about the SLA, only partial insights into the genesis of the SLA's views are possible. But one source already publicly available is the "Letter to the People" written by Nancy Ling Perry, shortly after the arrest of Remiro and Little. In it, she strives to tell "something about my background and the evolution of my consciousness."

It is the consciousness of someone up against the wall, who sees herself as having no alternatives but to fight or die: "All members of the SLA recognize that we, right here in Amerikka are in a state of war, and that in a state of war, all must be armed, and understand the true meaning of self-defense," she explains. The "true meaning of self-defense" is that "when any member of the people's army strikes out at the murderer of our people and children [i.e. Marcus Foster—Eds.], we are doing so because we are left no alternative and force of arms is now our only legal means to affect revolutionary justice."

Nancy Ling Perry is one of those deracinated children of the Sixties youth culture, increasingly a bottomless reservoir of believers for the prophets of instantaneous apocalypse, from Timothy Leary and Eldridge Cleaver to Jesus and the Guru Maharaj Ji. A refugee from a middle-class Goldwater background, steeped in the racism of small-town America and plunged into the deep acid culture of Berke-

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ley, Nancy Ling Perry is a personality burdened by too much guilt, too heavy dope, too new roots and too searing an exposure to the moral rot and relentless hypocrisy of the American system. As a result, she has evolved a view of that reality which is perceptive with the insight of the truly mad:

"When I was in high school in 1963-64, I witnessed the first military coup, against we the people of this country. I saw us passively sit by our t.v.'s and unconsciously watch as the militarily armed corporate state took over the existing government and blatantly destroyed the constitution that some of us still believed in. . . . the coup was simply accomplished by assassinating the then president john kennedy, and then assassinating any further opposition to the dictator who was to take power; that dictator is the current president richard nixon. In 1964 I witnessed these and other somewhat hidden beginnings of the military/corporate state which we now live in. And I heard my teachers and the government-controlled media spread lies about what had happened. I saw the Civil Rights protests, the killings and bombings of my black brothers and sisters and the conditioned reactions of extreme racism in my school and home. . . . I told my teachers and my family and friends, that I felt we were all being used as pawns and puppets, and that those who had taken over the government were trying to keep us asleep and in a political stupor. I asked my teachers to tell me what happened in Nazi Germany; I asked them to tell me the meaning of fascism; I asked them to tell me the meaning of genocide; and when I began to hear about a war in Vietnam, I asked them to tell me the meaning of imperialism. The answer to all my questions then was either silence, or a reply filled with confusion and lies, and a racist pride and attitude that well, after all, it was all for us."

Nancy Ling Perry seems to have witnessed the coup as a Goldwaterite. She drifted through the culture, into "consciousness raising," hard drugs, and the revolutionary remnants of the movement. She began to work with prisoners at Vacaville. She was concerned about racism. She worked at "Fruity Rudy's" orange juice stand on the Berkeley campus and gave $130 a week, virtually her entire paycheck, to prisoners. One aspect of her personality, reported by her employer at the orange juice stand, provides a stark insight into her perspective: "She has claustrophobia. That's why I hope they don't catch her. She would flip out in jail. At first she was just doing clean-up work for me. *It took her six months before she could work up enough nerve to work in the cart.* Even then she had to have a lot of breaks. She couldn't stand to be closed up." [italics added]

To understand the burdens of Nancy Ling Perry's personality is not to explain away her deep concern for the black prisoners closed within the walls of America's racist jails. It is to understand the blinding intensity of that concern. It is to understand her nightmare vision of the prison beyond the prison walls, not as a metaphor for oppression (as Bernardine Dohrn might use it) but as the *literal truth,* and in that way to understand how her vision of liberation and freedom could end in the death of Marcus Foster: "I have close ties and feelings with our incarcerated brothers and sisters," she wrote. "What they have taught me is that,

Nancy Ling Perry

if people on the outside do not understand the necessity of defending them through force of arms, then it is because these people on the outside *do not yet realize that they are in an immediate danger of being thrown into concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs."* [italics added]

The vectors of fear, love, and hatred that such anxiety produces all worked in Nancy Perry's psyche in a matrix of revolution. The killing of Marcus Foster is explained in terms of being cornered: "there are no alternatives," the walls are closing in. Revolution is defined as breaking out. "The only way to destroy fear is destroy the makers of fear, the murderer and the oppressor.. . . . *revolutionary violence is nothing but the most profound means of achieving internal as well as external balance."* [italics added] Revolution is thus not a matter of masses, of constituencies, of revolutionary agencies, programs and policies. Revolution is an act of the will: "My name was Nancy Ling Perry, but my true name is Fahizah. What that means is one who is victorious, and I am one who believes in the liberation and victory of the people, because I have learned that what one really believes in will come to pass."

If there is a lesson to be learned from the SLA, it is that in a society as violently racist, exploitative and aggressively heartless as America's, we cannot afford to be without an organized mass movement of the Left. For what the Left means in human terms is a moral community of hope—the revolutionary possibility of a better way. □

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An Age of Scarcity

Oil Is Only the Beginning

The unborn make as little contribution to production as the dead. Resources neglected in the deep soundings of the Earth donate no more to human welfare than resources exhausted by those no longer alive. Whence, then, it is asked, has living man an obligation to future man? And to whom belong untapped resources? To those so endowed by accident of geography or to those with the power to seize and the capacity to extract and process them? What part of such resources belong to mankind in the present and what, if any, to the distant future? These are the fundamental questions of today and tomorrow, for socialist and non-socialist countries alike.

They were not the questions of yesterday, certainly not for the advanced nations. Perturbations there might be in monetary markets, and gold might be selling at $85 an ounce—twice its official price. But until now the question of resources hardly arose. There was enough for the developed countries: the international minerals trusts took care of that. And the countries which yielded the minerals—the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) as the jargon of world exploitation terms them—had little say as to which of their resources should go undeveloped or, if developed, at what rate of increase, and at what price. The trusts took care of that also.

All of a sudden, things have changed, and not only in a further doubling of gold prices. Nations which yesterday had the power to seize, and the capacity to exploit, the minerals of the LDCs now find themselves without that power. Why? Not because their absolute might has diminished but because they dare not risk interruption of supply. Their persistence as capitalist powers now requires so high a rate of continuous reinvestment that even temporary interruption of materials supplies jeopardizes the quality of their capital as capital.

For capital to remain capital, it must by definition continuously expand, and must do so at a rate faster than the growth in debt, to banks and others, associated with its own increase. This means that for capital to continue to function as capital, to *be* capital, it must continuously transform and enlarge itself in physical form as plant and equipment, inventories, and goods for sale. The faster it accumulates, the faster still the rate at which it must multiply itself. And as this acceleration in turn accelerates, its needs for materials—specifically for fuels and non-fuel minerals—require an unbroken inflow on a continually rising scale. Assurance of continuity of supply becomes—and has by now become—the Achilles Heel of the living, swelling system of industrial capitalism. As the necessary velocity of the turnover and the transformation and re-transformation of its assets accelerates, deceleration threatens the whole structure; and failure of supply bespeaks deceleration.

It was deceleration that the international minerals trusts were designed to prevent. Their underlying principles were simple: pay as little as (backed by your government) you can force foreigners to accept for their raw materials; increase minerals output abroad in accordance with your own national needs; process other people's natural resources in your own country to enforce dependence upon you as a market and to accelerate your own growth; in collusion with your government—using tariffs, import restrictions, and currency manipulations—charge as much as you can compel the world to pay for your finished exports regardless of the extorted cheapness of your materials imports; price your materials-bearing products at whatever the traffic will bear in domestic markets, with prices rising to just below that point at which social disorder might be provoked but never below that at which price advances at least equal wage increases. The foundation of this system was the world's minerals industry.

What is the minerals industry? Physically, of course, the extraction of ores, and coal, and petroleum, etc., from the earth, but functionally something very different and very peculiar. On a world scale, it is—or has been until now—a means by which capitalist cartels and trusts shift, gallon by gallon or ton by ton, bits of one country to other countries. And as they sell off one country bit by bit they use the proceeds to buy up leases on other countries mile by mile which they then sell off bit by bit until nothing is left behind but holes in the ground, some narrow and deep, some broad and shallow—until all the Third World becomes West Virginia.

[REVOLT OF THE RAW-MATERIALS NATIONS]

But now the back of the trust-cartel system has been broken by a revolution becoming global in scope. This is neither the place nor the time to detail how the trusts and cartels have functioned. The Congress of the United States, in any case, is moving towards just such a study, at least with respect to mineral fuels. That the inquiry will extend to all critical materials seems unquestioned. The mood of Congress is towards assuring national self-sufficiency in all critical economic areas; and the trusts and cartels, Congress realizes, have failed to give the U.S. the guarantees it wants against shortages.

But the inquiry comes too late except in the U.S. domestic sphere. Internationally, minerals rich LDCs are in revolt—against domination, through the trusts, by minerals-deficient industrial societies. The less developed countries of the Third World have revolted because the time for revolt is ripe, and because they have at last asked themselves

by Terence McCarthy

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Copper strip mine, Chuquicamata, Chile

the questions: to whom do natural resources belong, and in what measure and manner shall future generations share in them? In the petroleum countries the revolt is total. Even Venezuela is cautioning of coming nationalization of its oil and other mineral resources. As C. L. Sulzburger has put it, "The famous oil companies—once considered weighty political forces—are floundering. Today they are but servants of the producer countries—any of which can kick them with impunity in the rump." (*New York Times*, 1/2/74)

What makes the time ripe for this revolt? Virtual collapse of the world monetary order; the uncertainty of money; the instability of every leading currency in the world. The basic tenet of the theory of international trade, to whatever school of economics the theoretician may belong, is that money is neutral. As one economist has summed it, "The first of the major simplifying assumptions . . . is often referred to as the *neutrality of money* . . . . We deal with a pure barter economy in which monetary magnitudes have no influence on relative prices. The only function that money performs is to set the *absolute* price level [of goods in international trade]." (H. Robert Heller, *International Trade,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., p. 5)

Money, however, has ceased to be neutral. Guesswork is involved as to the future value of the dollar, the yen, sterling, etc. Even with fixed-parity guarantees in inter-

Ernest R. Manewal / Black Star

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national contracts, there is no corresponding guarantee that differential commodity prices will not swing so widely as to disadvantage (or advantage) the seller of minerals. In real terms, instabilities of world currencies mean that the absolute price level at which transactions are contracted in world trade is not the absolute price level at which transactions are completed in the delivery of goods–not when the purchasing power of the price received for exports may change drastically over time, or even overnight. Unstable money is aggressive money, used aggressively. It is not neutral.

The paradox emerges that, because of the non-neutrality of money in today's *de facto* world, the equivalent of the neutrality of money in international trade can be accomplished in one of only two ways. The first is by actualizing the pure barter implicit in the theory of international trade, i.e., by removing money from the transaction of trading product for product. The second way is to confine trade among nations to multi-nation blocs characterized by a common currency or, what is almost the same thing, possessed of a common central bank of issue, and to specify in advance what quantities of what products will be exchanged in each major transaction. Money would then be truly neutral.

Neither of these conditions can exist in a system of international trade dominated by capitalist trusts and cartels: exist, that is, in the absence of a universal imperium functioning through the cartels. Assume a minerals producer wants a hospital or a steel plant, a textile mill, a machine tool facility in exchange for x-tons of ore or y-barrels of petroleum. Where will the trust obtain them? Where will it get the personnel to train the indigenous population in their use and operation? Theoretically, the trust could make these arrangements, but the physical *quid pro quo* for the crude minerals still would have to come from some nation willing to produce them in exchange for minerals. Or from a group of nations which, in all common sense, would prefer to treat directly with the minerals-rich country, eliminating the middleman profits of the trust and reaching mutual guarantees of delivery on a government-to-government basis.

In essence, trusts and cartels controlling world minerals cannot survive conditions under which LDCs insist upon the trusts honoring the pure barter implicit in the concept of the neutrality of money when money has ceased to behave neutrally. Money–the be-all and end-all of the trusts–is wrecking them by its misbehavior.

To pile paradox on paradox, it is general knowledge that at least some of the minerals-producing LDCs have attempted to preserve the neutrality of their money receipts by purchasing and accumulating gold. They have been prompted to do so by the losses they suffered as money cast off its neutral character and as world inflation resulted. Their experience with the dollar is a case in point, especially for petroleum producers.

In January 1974, one U.S. dollar could purchase at wholesale what 83¢ would have purchased one year earlier and what 30.8¢ would have purchased in 1930. Excluding direct and indirect effects of oil price increases, the best estimate I can now make is an 11 percent rise in world wholesale prices in 1974. Economists of oil-exporting countries are employing much the same figure, with critical consequences on the decisions they are reaching. The ten percent U.S. dollar devaluation of 1973 cost the Arab-Iranian oil exporters some $350 million in foreign exchange. In addition, the 1973 worldwide rise in wholesale prices cost them another $525 million in effective purchasing power of their savings, for a total loss of $875 million in the intrinsic value of their holdings of foreign currencies and equivalents. If 1974 wholesale non-petroleum prices behave as expected, the cumulative loss in the purchasing power of their savings alone since 1972 would approximate $1.2 billion by 1974 year-end, equal to an unpaid output of about 350 million barrels of crude oil at the average U.S. price of $3.43 per barrel of 1971-72.

In addition to this loss in real savings, 1973-74 output from their wells would have had to increase almost 40 percent, at stable 1972 prices for crude, if they were to hold constant the effective buying power of their output after oil companies' participation in production plus estimated increases in unit costs. To have avoided a loss in accumulated savings and current purchasing power from operations, the African and Arabian producer countries in 1974 would have had to enlarge their output, I estimate, by about 1.3 billion barrels, even if they were to retain the total proceeds of the increase for their national treasuries. In the absence of an increase in oil prices, they would have had to accelerate depletion of their irreplaceable resources in exchange, effectively, for nothing.

It is thus no cause for wonder that they have become gold hoarders. However, as they have bought up gold in the unofficial markets, their very attempt to attain the equivalent of the neutrality of money has set off waves of currency speculations which have aggravated the aggressiveness of money, have moved money further and further away from neutrality, ever more distant from that system in which the trusts and cartels could buy up the minerals of of the LDCs with paper printed by their national governments.

[EUROPE TAKES THE PLUNGE]

This perception, before the Yom Kippur War and its generally familiar effects upon petroleum supplies and prices, underlay my reasoning in "The New International Power Game" (*Ramparts*, November 1973) that the world was approaching a barter system among nations. Since then, the revolt of the LDCs has led the European Common Market to take a decisive step towards formalization of a direct government-to-government barter system between the Member States of the EEC collectively and the Arab oil-producing nations. On March 4, 1974, the nine Common Market countries made a collective offer of long-term economic, technical, and cultural cooperation between the two areas. (See page 32, for unofficial translation of the communique, *New York Times*, 3/5/74)

There is no reason to doubt that the Arab and African minerals producers, plus Iran, will enter into cooperative economic planning with the EEC. In so doing, they would answer the question of what part of their natural resources belongs to their future generations. The answer is that most of them belong to the future, transformed in character from

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South African gold mines

wasting assets to enduring assets through their exchange for capital goods and the building up of self-expansive industries to provide rising and more varied standards of life for those now living and those still unborn. EEC advances towards joint development of Africa-Arabia-Iran are simultaneously European initiatives and responses to the problems and the revolt of the LDCs. The tendency, as has been demanded by Saudi Arabia speaking for all Arab oil producers, will be towards direct barter of minerals exports to Europe for the input of industrialization by Europe into the lands south of the Mediterranean. Japan will play a part in this overall plan for the industrialization of these specific LDCs.

Certain very important consequences follow, including effects upon the United States. First of the consequences is that Europe must make one of two choices. Over the longer term, it must accept limitation upon the growth of its living standards (perhaps, even, some reduction) because it must ship to Africa-Arabia real products which otherwise would be available for European use and consumption. Or, European output must expand sufficiently both to provide a rise in living standards and to meet the large and rapidly growing needs for industrialization of Africa-Arabia.

If the former is chosen, there will nevertheless be a substantial increase in materials requirements, the amount determined by the specifics of the industrial equipment and systems which Europe will ship in exchange for minerals.

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As Africa-Arabia-Iran develop industrially, their own local demand for minerals will rise in addition to the added demand in Europe, especially as productive facilities come on stream and themselves tend to expand. Therefore, under the most conservative of assumptions, the tendency will be for minerals and other materials to increase in scarcity vis-a-vis the requirements for them of today's advanced nations.

In short, the scarcity of minerals will tend to become more acute for all developed nations as time passes. This will not happen overnight; but happen it will. And when it occurs it will answer the question of to whom undeveloped resources belong. The answer rules out the right of might to seize and exploit them. It affirms that undeveloped resources belong to those who, exploiting them, leave more behind than they remove, measured in the capacity of peoples to flourish even though their exhaustible resources vanish in a process of exchange for expansible resources.

If the second alternative is chosen, of maintaining and increasing Europe's consumption standards while industrializing the lands south of the Mediterranean, demand for fuel and non-fuel minerals will increase immediately, perhaps beyond the simultaneously developed capacity of Arabia-Africa to supply. In that case, today's scarcity of minerals will be looked back upon as close to plethora.

The government of Guyana, for example, has already taken over the bauxite (aluminum ore) deposits previously owned by Alcan Aluminium, Ltd., and has indicated intention to nationalize those of America's Reynolds Metals Co. The Alcan nationalization occurred before the March 1974 meeting in Conakry, Guinea of bauxite representatives from Yugoslavia, Guyana, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Surinam, Australia and Guinea—each of them producers of bauxite—although Brazil, Indonesia, Venezuela, and other national producers were not present. At that meeting, the first inkling was given of concerted action by bauxite producers to raise the world prices for the ore. Somebody, incidentally, has failed so far to call this blackmail, perhaps because aluminum is among the world's most abundant minerals, though in highly varied concentrations among orebodies.

The threat of price increases met a prompt response (not unexpected) which synthesized the real-world relations existing between industrial countries and retarded raw materials producers. Richard S. Reynolds, Jr., chief executive of Reynolds Metals, brushed aside the possibility of a bauxite embargo, pointing out that the bauxite producers simply did not possess the processing facilities with which to convert their ore resources into finished metal. "Even the Australians," he said "have need for power facilities to support large-scale aluminum production, although they do have the coal but not near modern production facilities." (*New York Times* 3/8/74) I, for one thank Mr. Reynolds for expressing the world relations of the minerals industry so cogently.

[A FUMBLING GIANT]

What seems certain is that U.S. access to overseas minerals is going to become severely restricted—and not only petroleum. In apparent anticipation of diminishing U.S. access to overseas minerals on the old terms, the Nixon Administration on March 4, 1974, asked the Senate Finance Committee for unambiguous authority to retaliate against any nation which might impose "illegal or unreasonable restraints" upon materials scarce in relation to demand. The question is, how effective could such legislation prove? The answer—in the absence of military actions—lies in the actual pattern and quantity of U.S. trade with other nations, especially with the LDCs.

Some inkling of the realities is provided by U.S. export

(*Continued on page 53*)

ESTABLISHING A WORLD BARTER SYSTEM: COMMON MARKET COMMUNIQUÉ

1. The nine Governments of the member states of the European Community conform the importance they attach to the talks that took place in Copenhagen on December 14 and 15 with the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Sudan and Tunisia as well as the Ministers of State of the Arab Emirates, who, speaking in the name of all the Arab countries, expressed the wish that the countries of the Community should develop their relations with the Arab world and engage with it in long-term cooperation in all fields, notably the economic, technical and cultural.

2. The Nine wish, on their part, to continue the dialogue thus begun and develop from it mutually beneficial cooperation including in relations, existing or developing, with the Community.

3. In the first analysis, the Nine believe that this cooperation should be realized by concrete actions, in numerous fields like industry, agriculture, energy and raw materials, transportation, science and technology, financial cooperation and training of cadres, for example.

4. The first objective of the Arab and European governments would be, in the opinion of the latter, to organize among themselves as soon as possible contacts which would permit them to express their initial views on the character to be developed and on the efforts to be made to undertake it. The Nine propose, as a first step, and at as soon a date as possible, a meeting between their own President, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and the representative or representatives that the Arab governments wish to designate. The Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany will undertake these meetings in his double capacity, presiding over the political cooperation of the Nine and over the European Economic Council.

5. In light of the results of the foregoing the Nine are prepared to undertake afterward, at the European and Arab expert level, for example at a working group level, a study of the ways and means of cooperation between them, to arrive at concrete recommendations as soon as possible.

6. If the results of their work justify it, in the opinion of the two parties, a conference of the foreign ministers of the Community and of the Arab countries can be organized to take the necessary decisions.

Raymond Depardon/Gamma

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Japanese architect advising sheiks of Abu Dhabi

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In the Shadow of War.

提高警惕 保卫祖国 （油画） 关琦铭作

"PROTECTING THE MOTHERLAND"

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..China's New Cultural Revolution

by David Milton, Nancy Milton and Franz Schurmann

As China is caught up in a movement denouncing the former Defense Minister Lin Piao, dead for something over two years, and the former sage Confucius, dead for two and a half millenia, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, 80 last December 26, once again tells foreign visitors of his "appointment with God."

The Chinese have been talking and struggling politically about "succession" over the last decade—not just who will succeed Mao but what millions will take over the key positions in the country from those now entering retirement. But as the time of transition comes closer, Mao, who seems to be in firm command, and his co-leaders are determined to nail down the policy lines to guide people and Party through a dangerous period.

Mao, as a life-long revolutionary, knows that all revolutions have external as well as internal enemies. While the nature of the internal enemy has become much more complex than during the "two-line struggle" of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1968-69), the definition of the external enemy is crystal clear. The Soviet Union has become China's principal mortal enemy, threatening it with war from the north. The United States, once China's mortal enemy, has been relegated not only to the status of a secondary enemy but also to that of a possible ally against the Soviet Union. The Russian build-up that began in 1966 has now risen to one million troops positioned in an offensive stance along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders. At one point these recently strengthened forces are a little over 300 miles from Peking. Whether intended as bluff, blackmail, or preparation for attack, history has shown that all three always run the risk of war.

Mao's contention that the United States is no longer the primary enemy was dramatically supported by the refusal of the U.S. and its Seventh Fleet to bail South Vietnamese troops out of their predicament on the Paracel (Hsi-sha) Islands when attacked by Chinese forces. As the ever-eager China watchers began to speculate about some dramatic changes in China, the Chinese passed the word along that its foreign policy lines have not changed. In fact, the consolidation of those lines is at the heart of the new movement.

What has most surprised Western observers in this new campaign has been the extensive attack on Italian filmmaker Michelangelo Antonioni, on Beethoven and Schubert, and on an odd assortment of Western China scholars. But these attacks make up only a subsidiary theme in a larger campaign which has as its slogan: "Criticize Lin Piao, Criticize Confucius." The Western press has speculated about a new upheaval on the scale of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, power struggles aimed at toppling Premier Chou En-lai, retreat from the opening toward the United States. The China-watchers seem to have only one picture of the dynamics of Chinese politics: radicals constantly stirring things up to a boiling point and moderates trying to cool them down. So naturally they see this campaign as a repetition of the 1966 one. But the evidence indicates that this movement is different, and if anything, resembles a much earlier one dating back to 1942. To understand it in its broader context, we have to look at the menacing Sino-Soviet confrontation, at the new united front strategy as applied to the United States, and to the complex arena of actors and issues in domestic Chinese politics. There is no doubt that the hostility between China and Russia remains the overriding issue in Chinese politics.

[ENEMY AT THE GATES]

No conflict in the world is so perplexing as the one between the largest countries on the Eurasian continent. Only a decade ago, the maps still showed an unbroken splotch of red from Korea to East Germany, from Russia through China into Vietnam. Now Western sources are predicting the likelihood of a Sino-Russian war in 1974. The Chinese, since 1969, have accused the Russians of planning to unleash a "blitzkrieg" against them as they did against Czechoslovakia in August 1968, in the biggest military maneuver seen in Europe since the end of World War II. The Russians freely admit their hatred of the Chinese but deny any intention of attacking China. Yet offensively positioned Soviet forces continue to swell along China's frontiers. How could these two nations, who venerate the same Marxist-Leninist pantheon, whose social systems arise from the same source, who, despite frictions, collaborated to help the Vietnamese fight the Americans, have come to the point of a conflict which could consume millions of lives and spark a Third World War? The answer lies more within Russia than China.

Despite internationalist currents that flowed out of the 1917 Russian Revolution, one major current has dominated Soviet foreign policy since the early 1920s: national security from external attack, an attack which finally came in the summer of 1941. During those same 1920s, anti-Bolshevik European powers had tried to create what the French named a *cordon sanitaire* around the USSR, by getting the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Rumanians into an anti-Soviet bloc. After World War II, Stalin decided these same countries would serve as a *cordon sanitaire* against the West. The Chinese revolution unexpectedly (to Stalin) gave the Russians the chance to create a virtually unbroken *cordon* from Korea to Germany. Since capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries were always unreliable as allies and unpredictable as enemies, the Russians saw no other way to assure their national security than by constructing a buffer

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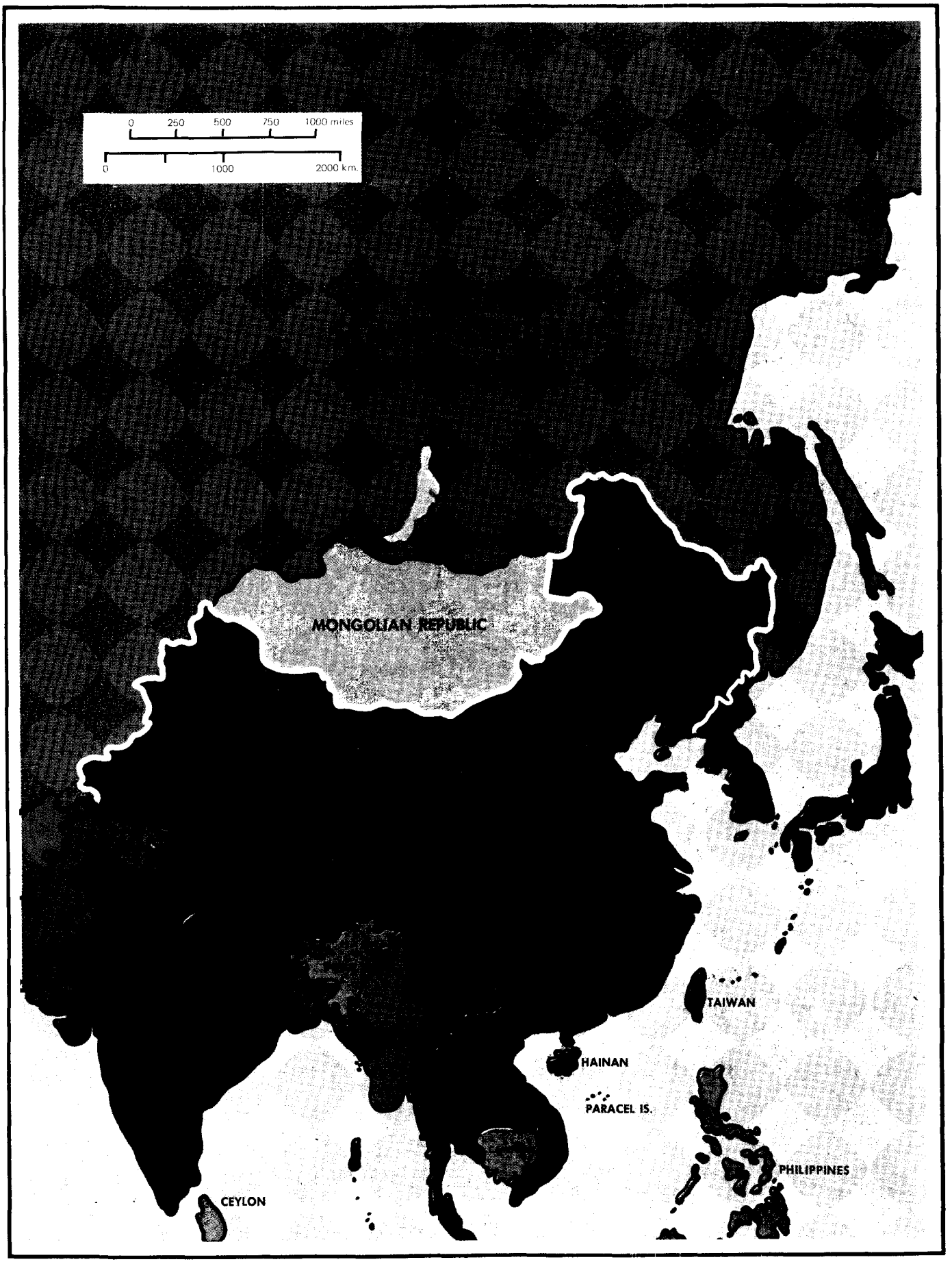

Map by Diane Coleman

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zone around their vast Eurasian land mass.

Russian policies toward the internal affairs of Eastern Europe have shifted over time, but one core element has remained inviolable: that their stance vis-á-vis the West in terms of Russian national security not change one iota. When Imre Nagy in 1956 pulled out of the Warsaw Pact, Russian troops invaded. Though Dubcek denied any dickering with the West Germans, the Russians alleged a West German threat as the real reason for occupying Czechoslovakia. And from 1966 on, when the Sino-Soviet break became final, the Russians accused the Chinese of plotting with American imperialism once again to encircle the USSR.

An East European *cordon* has appeared to be all the Russians want of the major Warsaw Pact countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary). Like the old "protectorates" of colonial times, these countries have surrendered all power over external and national security affairs to the Russians, and in return are given considerable (though not unlimited) liberty to pursue whatever domestic policies they wish. By and large, the Eastern European regimes have opted for the goulash communism of consumerism. But the price of this trade-off is now coming due. In July 1973, Brezhnev summoned all the East European leaders, including Ceausescu of Rumania, as well as his Mongolian ally Tsedenbal, to a solidarity conference in the Crimea. What apparently emerged was a commitment by Warsaw Pact members to send troops to Soviet Asia; Polish air and paratroop units are now reported maneuvering east of the Urals. Brezhnev has repeated, though more successfully, the attempt in 1964 by Rusk and McNamara to round up NATO troops for the burgeoning Vietnam war. The price of affluence now enjoyed by so many East Europeans may be service on the frozen steppes of Northeastern Asia.

[UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE RUSSIANS]

That the Chinese refused to accept "protectorate" status despite all Russian rhetorical concessions to China being a great power has been from the beginning at the heart of the Sino-Soviet conflict. And the core issue has been nuclear weapons. In 1956, as we now know from new documents, Mao decided China should have a nuclear capability. That this was a decision bound to create paranoiac tremors in Washington was hardly difficult to imagine. Nuclear capabilities, for all their destructive threat, also have a way of giving nations independent voices in world affairs, the most notable Western case being France. In October 1957, the Russians and Chinese signed a nuclear sharing pact, and the year 1958 was one of worldwide crises as the United States sought to counter the growing power of the communist bloc.

Then, in June 1959, Khrushchev broke the pact, denying the Chinese Russian nuclear know-how and bomb samples. This delighted the Americans, who let Khrushchev visit the U.S. and so launch the first Soviet-American détente. But the Chinese decided to go ahead and build their own bomb anyway. As the program moved toward the first detonation (October 14, 1964), the Sino-Soviet rift grew shriller, and the Americans secretly began maneuvering for a "surgical" strike against the Chinese test sites, notably by building long-range B-52 bases in Thailand.

Though the Supreme Soviet has recently voted a special medal for military service on the Chinese frontier, the Russians have held back. Their official as well as surreptitious line is that China, after Mao Tse-tung passes from the scene, eventually will return to the fold of the "socialist camp." Hard to believe though it may be, a series of purged leaders–from the boss of Manchuria Kao Kang in 1954, and the tough Marshal P'eng Teh-huai, a kind of Chinese Zhukov, in 1959, to Liu Shao-ch'i in 1967, and now Lin Piao–have been accused of favoring collaboration with or capitulation to the Russians. Indeed, if the Russians are offering the Chinese the best possible version of the policy-for-power trade-offs they worked out with Eastern Europe, why should there not be people within Chinese official circles who would be tempted to accept the offer? Why should China risk being turned into a nuclear crematorium, as one drunken junior Soviet diplomat was recently reported to have threatened, just for the sake of independence?

If one can answer that question, one can understand why the Vietnamese, who never tire of reiterating Hồ Chí Minh's phrase, "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," have fought since 1945 against foreign aggressors who, when not smothering them with bombs, offered them affluence-for-power deals. All that one can say is that since 1927, when they were virtually exterminated by Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Communists have always adhered fiercely to their independence; and when compromising it for short periods, as in the 1950s, they have eventually regained it.

In China, as in every other great power, the debates over foreign policy are cloaked in secrecy. But there can be little doubt that the key issue in the struggles among China's top leaders since the end of the first cultural revolution in 1969 has been over the definition of the external enemy: should China consider both super-powers to be equal enemies, continue the old estimate that the United States remained the main danger, or root China's policies in a new world view which sees the United States as a waning threat and Russia as a rising one? Mao and his supporters, who advocated the latter view, won out, purged their opponents and rapidly moved to implement a strategy of utilizing the contradictions between the two super-powers to China's own advantage. Mao has always opposed a strategy of "striking with two fists in two directions at the same time." His axiom "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few, and crush our enemies one by one" has guided Chinese strategy for over 40 years. This is the thinking which underlies what the Chinese call one of their "magic weapons," the united front. Ping pong diplomacy is a united front strategy.

During the half century of their revolutionary history, the Chinese Communists, by mastering the tactic of the united front, came out on top without being co-opted in the process – unlike many other communist parties throughout the world. The Chinese have always been aware that when making compromises with old enemies to develop a united front against new ones, they must keep complete control over their own side and not end up being manipulated by the other side. Mao is determined to

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push a strategy of what used to be called a "united front from above" with the United States, working but not identifying with the new partner. He is determined that no "united front from below," taking the form of mushrooming cultural and tourist contacts, will extinguish the domestic revolution that he considers vital for decades to come if China is to be truly transformed. It has been difficult to find a single leadership dedicated to doing both.

The new relationship with the Americans has to remain purely pragmatic, one of the head and not the heart. With Russia it had earlier been a relationship of both, and sentiment got the Chinese into much trouble. The Chinese regard the growing rivalry between America and Russia as a fundamental fact of world politics. Unlike some years ago when they saw alternate collusion and conflict between the two super-powers, now they say détente is bankrupt, "burst like a soap bubble." Whether or not their estimate is correct, it is the operative basis on which they see a partial overlap of their own interests with America's. Since the menace of Soviet attack has to dwarf all other external considerations for the Chinese, they welcome any manner in which the United States acts as a counter-weight to the Soviet Union.

[AN INTENSE STRUGGLE AT THE TOP]

The thought that the United States, committed to war against China's Vietnamese allies, could become even an indirect ally against the Soviet Union, seemed inconceivable to many within China as well as abroad. Lin Piao, known internationally for his doctrines of spreading world revolution through peoples' wars, and known in China for his support of Mao in the struggle against domestic revisionism, advocated a foreign policy of equal hostility and preparedness against both superpowers. Since his death, and particularly during the present campaign, he has become the chief symbol for all who oppose the foreign policy that sees the Soviet Union as China's primary enemy. But at the same time the name of Lin Piao has been linked with the hoariest of conservative symbols in the Chinese tradition, Confucius. Ever since the beginning of attacks against Confucius around the turn of the century, his name has connoted mandarinism, arrogance of power and disdain of the people, adulation of all that is old, tradition-encrusted, and unchanging. However difficult it may be for Westerners to believe, Lin Piao's name is now touted to connote a Confucian timidity in opposing external enemies and seeking daring new approaches coupled with an equally Confucian tenacity to preserve one's own power and that of one's followers.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a domestic revolution without the complications created for internal politics by an external united front. This makes the present campaign more comparable to the rectification movement of 1942 during the war against Japan than to the great rebellion of the mid-1960s. In 1942 Japanese armies had swept through all of East Asia and sunk the U.S. Pacific fleet, while Nazi armies stood poised for the final blow against the Russians. Chiang Kai-shek was mulling over whether or not to make peace with the Japanese and get back to his favorite pursuit, killing Chinese Communists.

The Communists, in their liberated areas, responded by a "rectification" movement to change people's attitudes toward culture and more particularly to change their personal and political behavior.

What happened in fact was that all factions and grouplets that had been maneuvering against each other found themselves caught up in a movement in which millions of ordinary people participated. Swept up from below and aware of the threat of annihilation from the victorious Japanese and a scheming Chiang Kai-shek always ready for the kill, the contending factions fell into line. Yenan China became a tough nut that no one was able to crack.

The Chinese like to write allegorically about present-day events and so the Russians are often written about in the guise of the Japanese imperialists of the 1930s, and the Americans are likened to their united front ally Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Communist line in those days was that Japan was the principal enemy and Chiang the secondary enemy, no matter how treacherously Chiang might deal with his Communist united front allies. That this image of the situation was operative became apparent when the Chinese began distributing a small pamphlet on the 1945 Chungking negotiations between the Communists and the Nationalists at the time of the 1971 ping-pong breakthrough with the United States.

The years preceding China's leap into the era of ping-pong diplomacy marked an intense struggle among China's new leaders who had emerged from the Cultural Revolution. Three years of massive internal upheaval had toppled many of the old leaders, but inevitably ended in compromise. Mao himself had stated that one cultural revolution was not enough to guarantee China's continuing revolution and that many would be needed in every century.

The Ninth Party Congress ending the Cultural Revolution was held in the immediate aftermath of bloody clashes between Russian and Chinese troops in the Ussuri River area in March 1969. Under these circumstances it was imperative that unity at the top be achieved. Lin Piao and his army had replaced the shattered Party organization, and military men held key positions throughout the country. Two issues dominated the Congress: first, the reinstatement of thousands of party functionaries to their former positions of power, and second, foreign policy. The foreign policy statement of the Congress declared equal opposition to the two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union – a new formulation, since the United States had always been held as the principal enemy. No clear guidelines were given on how many cadres to reinstate or how rapidly this process should be carried out.

Within six months after the Congress, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta split with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai on the formula for rebuilding the Party and on foreign policy. Chen Po-ta, an advocate of the radical Paris Commune concepts of popular rule, was quietly purged sometime in 1970. The struggle between Lin Piao and the Mao-Chou forces over foreign policy and political power continued throughout 1971, including the period when Henry Kissinger repeatedly visited Peking. Lin Piao, Huang Yung-sheng and other top military leaders refused to accept the new line on foreign policy and rebuilding the Party and, according to Chinese reports, launched an abortive coup against Mao.

(Continued on page 54)

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The Importance of Being Izzy

Milton had a harder time writing about God than about the Devil, and like him (of course in that respect only) I find that discussing the lives of my heroes is heavy work. Not that I have too heroes, nor that any of them is without some redeeming deviltry. It's just that good news is usually no news at all, and bad news sells papers.

Fortunately, I. F. Stone is a hero with enough warts to produce a satisfying portrait. No bland features here: Izzy at his best presents a high-relief map of idiosyncracies and contradictions. He is the dean of Left journalism in America at a time when that school contains very few pupils. He's the Establishment's rebel, the Rebellion's favorite establishmentarian. At 66, he is tired of being merely the best journalist in Washington; now, he is embarking on an enormous study of the development of freedom of thought and expression from the dimmest dynasties of history to contemporary society. And still, he would like most to be considered—a poet. In all, Izzy is a genuinely perplexing character in the play of present political history—the independent radical whose independence and radicalism are constantly bound in struggle.

Izzy is a social phenomenon as well as a journalistic one. His *Weekly* (it retired at the end of 1971; he didn't) was an authentic institution for an intellectual community that stretched far beyond its audience of old Lefties, concerned suburbanites, and young activists. It organized the consciousness of its readers somewhat in the way a community action group organizes a neighborhood: for awareness, understanding, action. The mass anti-war movement consumed the information and analysis of the late-Sixties *Weeklies* to find fodder for its cannons. Stone's recent contributions to the *New York Review of Books* have been eminently thoughtful and thorough, though they lack the institutional force of his own *Weekly*, which made its points by virtue of persistence and determination as well as the arguments of its articles. But based or free-floating, Izzy continues to exert a power that is peculiar to him as a writer on the Left. People take I. F. Stone *seriously*, which is probably the greatest compliment that can be offered a journalist who also displays a sense of humor.

When I went to Washington in early 1965 to mine the lode of liberal politics as a *New Republic* writer, Izzy Stone was hardly an idol in my personal pantheon: Murray Kempton, Dwight MacDonald, even Walter Lippmann had the stature and legitimacy I admired. Gilbert Harrison, the owner and editor of the *New Republic*, set me straight about Stone: "Poor Izzy," he said when I brought up the name. Harrison shook his head and muttered a few words of sympathy for people who pursue lost causes and exhort small audiences.

The capacity of successful editors to underestimate the potential of writers is always an amazing phenomenon to behold. Another editor of mine had made similar condescending clucking noises at the sight of Norman Mailer walking alone outside the Cow Palace at the 1969 Republican National Convention in San Francisco. "Poor Norman," my *Time* editor intoned, "burnt out since *The Naked and the Dead*, and now writing magazine pieces on Goldwater."

Mailer shot into superstardom a few months after that, and it must have been only a short time after Gil Harrison's sad appraisal of Stone that Izzy took off into a new stratum of political influence and journalistic importance. The *Weekly* had for years been confined to being a cult item for a committed but small collection of Left readers who remembered Izzy from the Forties. But in the Sixties the *Weekly* connected with the surge of political energy and gathered new generations and new constituencies of readers. From a circulation of 18,000 in 1962, it was up to 71,000 when Izzy folded it ten years later. More significantly, it was quoted, discussed, and used in the way that *New York Times* articles or *Le Monde* pieces are cited—as authoritative and intelligent.

It was Stone's new *legitimacy*—quite apart from his old

by Andrew Kopkind

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intelligence—which boosted the *Weekly* in the mid-Sixties. It became "respectable" in large measure because it was right about the war, about the Democrats' various sell-outs of liberal programs, about what Stone kept calling the "Pax Americana." The *Weekly* was also seen as a sensible and sane balance to the activism of the young New Left, who took into the streets what Stone exposed in print. Willy-nilly, Izzy was now regarded as closer to the middle of the political spectrum.

I don't think such variations in political location ever bothered him. Stone is always slightly skeptical about his opinions, but never unsure about his place. Others may discuss his radicalism or liberalism; I think the discussion both eludes and bores him. A New Left writer I know once characterized Izzy as "the last honest liberal," a description offered with more respect than criticism. Commentators in the straighter press usually refer to him as an "honest radical." Yet there's no doubt that he's more interested in the constant adjective than the variable nouns.

The arrival of the little four-page *Weekly* (it occasionally would expand) in the mail preempted whatever work or idle reflection that was going on. It was hard not to read Izzy the minute his paper came. His appeal was not only informational; what was most enjoyable was the way he demolished the windbags of authority with a clean stroke or a direct hit. He pored through otherwise unread government documents and always came up with the perfect example of villainy, mendacity or double-dealing to make his point. Here's an item from an issue in May 1965:

> *The Department of Commerce publishes a daily bulletin in which the government advertises various wants for bidding. There in the issue of 29 April, as our Marines were landing in Santo Domingo, appeared an ad which deserves to be preserved for the historian . . .*
>
> *"Service and materials to perform a RESEARCH STUDY ENTITLED 'PAX AMERICANA' consisting of a phased study of the following: (a) elements of National Power; (b) ability of selected nations to apply the elements of National Power; (c) a variety of world power configurations to be used as a basis for the U.S. to maintain world hegemony in the future . . ."*

The *Weekly* was full of such tidbits, incorporated into reportage and essays, or sprinkled throughout as delicious polemical bonbons in a sampler box. They exemplified Izzy's style: somewhere between cantankerous and whimsical, angry right up to the point of self-righteousness—but only up to that point.

[PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST]

Much of that personal style and some of the political implications of the Izzy phenomenon can be found in a remarkable documentary film called *I. F. Stone's Weekly* that is currently making the rounds of art cinemas and midnight seances in a few big cities and college towns. Gerry Bruck's film succeeds in capturing the several aspects of Izzy's life, the tensions of his political condition, the ambiguities of his social role. The cuts with newsfilm—with scenes of war, Lyndon Johnson, the Washington press at play—steer the movie away from dangerous sentimentality or personality cultism. The film takes Izzy seriously, although there are many scenes showing him in the most deliciously picaresque postures.

I should declare a certain personal involvement in the movie, right off the bat. When Gerry Bruck was making it, he asked my permission to shoot me and Izzy at lunch in a Middle Eastern restaurant in Washington. I begged off; the lunch was "business" and I didn't want to be on-stage and self-conscious in that predicament. Ever the intrepid *cinéma vérité auteur,* Bruck came to the restaurant anyway, and after a series of skirmishes with peeping lenses and poking microphones, I very nearly broke the equipment and/or Bruck's head. The scene outside the cafe would have made a fine episode for the movie: my ranting at the "invasion of privacy," Bruck's timid First Amendment defense, and Izzy's utter bewilderment on the sidelines.

Now I realize that I might have trusted the moviemakers more. Bruck takes few liberties with the separate realities of Izzy's life. All the jangling tensions are there: Izzy as Scoop; Izzy as ostracized radical from the Washington press corps; Izzy as one-man band, one-tent circus, magnificently obsessed and oblivious to those who surround and support him; Izzy as reluctant darling of liberals, suspicious cynosure of students, angry scourge of bureaucrats; Izzy surprising his enemies and annoying his friends by his consistent integrity; Izzy as conscience of the Left.

Throughout, Bruck paints a careful portrait of an artist who has sought to write the wrongs of the universe he encounters. But it's important to notice what the features of that universe are, and are not. Izzy's world comprises the structures of national and international policy, the marbled halls of power and the musty crannies of bureaucracy. Like himself, its inhabitants are members of the *classe politique,* the people who see Washington politics as the show most worth reviewing. Excluded from their field of vision are other landscapes which radical writers traditionally survey: the day-to-day experience of "ordinary" people in their native habitats, their workplaces, their entertainment centers, their ghettos, their battlegrounds. Izzy's eyes are on the big events, the main chances, the mega-dramas.

Bruck's film neatly catalogues the nuances of Izzy in that world. Stone in his Northwest Washington suburban house, rummaging through papers and buried in books, easily accepting his wife's administration of the matters of his home and business, is in some respects the archetypal successful Washington press corpsman; and yet he is denied much of the status and many of the privileges of that position. He takes delicious pride in scooping the big-time reporters with some discovery of governmental mendacity: the details are far less important than the journalistic triumph of one man against the system; and his alienation from one part of the status system allows him to understand and attack the others. He jaunts off to college campuses in the time of the war in Vietnam to deliver stinging criticisms of American policy and exposures of Presidential duplicity. He accepts prestigious awards and uses an acceptance speech to hurl a lesson in Cold War history:

"I'm very happy to receive my first Establishment award," Stone said at the George Polk Award dinner in

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"I really have so much fun, I ought to be arrested."

1971. "I want to say one word about George Polk, who seems to be forgotten at these affairs. I knew George very well, met him in Cairo on a number of trips after the war, he was a wonderful young man. And he was the first journalistic victim of the Cold War. I noticed the antiseptic reference to him being killed on his way to interview an insurgent leader. The fact is that Greece was our first Vietnam, the first exercise of the Pax Americana, and the crushing of the revolt there stands in lineal relationship to the present dictatorship. . . ."

It was appropriate, if not inevitable, that Izzy devote the crucial part of his professional life to running his own independent journal—so independent, in fact, that few other people could work on it as an equal to him. Esther, his wife, handled the subscriptions and business; she was the invaluable woman "without whom, etc. etc." providing life-support services for her undomestic but appreciative man. Young post-collegiate eager-beavers had their (always brief) flings at apprenticeships, until they collapsed or disintegrated at the humiliation of seeing Izzy, twice or three times their age, out-eagering and beavering them at every turn.

"It's just a process of seven days a week, 18 hours a day, just trying to keep up all the time," Peter Osnos, a *Washington Post* reporter who once worked for Izzy, says in the

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movie. "Generally, it starts about 7:30 in the morning, when Izzy's on the phone, and he's saying, 'Pete!' and you're beginning to shake already and he's already been through the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post,* the *Baltimore Sun,* at that point it was also the *New York Herald Tribune,* and *The Wall Street Journal.* And you're still struggling through the A section of the *Washington Post.* And the first thing he wants to know is if you saw the item, on page Z-12, in which J. Edgar Hoover was proven to be the fool we all knew he is. And, of course, if you've seen it, you're just in heaven for the rest of the day, but if God forbid you missed it, you just don't recover all day.

"From then on in, it's just run, run, run, until generally I would fall asleep usually about one or two o'clock in the morning, with three or four *Congressional Records* stacked on my chest or under my chin, gaga with the day's debate on some particularly boring subject that Izzy wanted indexed. And, of course, you could never index it adequately because he could always index it infinitely faster. I mean he could take an enormous volume of Congressional hearings and in the course of maybe what would seem to me ten seconds, but was probably about two hours, he would leaf through these things and come up with some jewel that other people would devote a lifetime to. People read, but they miss most of what they see. Izzy misses nothing."

Occasionally, Washington colleagues would contribute a page to the *Weekly.* I once wrote an article for Izzy on an aspect of the CIA's involvement with liberal student organizations in the 1950s. I worked hard to please him; Izzy's judgment meant a lot to me. I knew what to do journalistically with the piece, but along the way I realized that Izzy was not only the editor of the *Weekly:* he was copy-reader, proof-reader, type and composition expert, layout editor—and critic, all at the same time. My article not only had to be well written: it had to count out to the exact number of words, be free of typographical errors and be ready on short deadline. Later on, when several other friends and I put out a somewhat similar weekly newspaper in Washington, I marveled at Izzy doing it all by himself, for so many years.

[A RISKY VENTURE]

Izzy grew up in what he calls a "non-political" family in Haddonfield, New Jersey. He likes to look back on his first newspaper project, a journal called *The Progress,* which he edited for its entire life span of three issues, when he was 14 years old. After three years at the University of Pennsylvania he dropped out to work for a Camden daily, later moved up to the editorial staff of the *New York Post,* and went to Washington in 1940, where he wrote for *The Nation* and *PM.* By the end of 1952, postwar liberalism in America had been played out, and *PM* and its successor New York afternoon papers had all closed down. Izzy was isolated in a very sinister city and alone in a very cold season.

Launching the *Weekly* in 1953 was not only a risky venture in terms of economic survival; it was an act of defiance towards Cold War repression. "I was starting in a very hostile atmosphere, and people didn't believe what I was saying, and I had no inside information, and if I did have, nobody would believe it, I had to present my material in a form that was documented from the government's own sources," Stone says in Bruck's film.

Like many Leftists of his generation, Izzy's perception of politics and his sense of his own security was informed in part by the McCarthy experience. The spectre of the inquisitors would haunt his reveries; the threat of economic ruin and social ostracism was constantly impending. And in another way, the political isolation of self-conscious radicals was painful for Izzy as a writer. Legitimacy is the crux of political journalism: how can a writer project the truth, reliability and authenticity of his or her material? Stone's important and prophetic *Hidden History of the Korean War* took more than 15 years to acquire even a measure of legitimacy outside the very small circle of the previously committed who had not been blasted out of their senses by McCarthyism. The *Weekly* was practically a cult item (for an unfashionable cult, at that) until the mid-Sixties, when the world worked out in the way Izzy always said it would. The paper then became the legitimate organ of "reasonable" Left journalism—what it had been to a few all along.

Hard work, talent—even brilliance is clearly not enough for a writer to be taken seriously. Emerging from the ghastly Fifties, Stone connected with a political conscience that was distinctly new:

"For years there was no movement to have to deal with," he said in a conversation we had not long ago, on a warm winter's day in Washington. "A movement tends to capture you and deprive you of your independence. If you let go of the preconceptions of a movement you're out of the movement. The test of leadership is to tell your followers what they *don't* want to hear. I lost a chunk of readers on my report from Moscow in 1956; I outraged a lot of readers with my review of the Warren Report—I supported it, I was fighting paranoia on the Right and I thought we were pretty lucky. In the McCarthy era there would be eight-column headlines saying 'Reds Kill Kennedy.' I find the whole miasma and the nuts on the subject distasteful; their theories require a belief in a triple conspiracy. If there is one thing that Marxism is not, it's not a conspiracy theory of history."

Stone was preeminently a civil libertarian in the Fifties, and the defense of Constitutional freedoms was the most plausible political stance. There was hardly any other practical way to be a radical in America. It was frightening enough just to show your head.

"In the mid-Fifties I went to Harvard to give a talk. The audience was full of old Lefties. The others were afraid to come out to a meeting. The Sixties of course was completely the opposite. I liked the Sixties, I liked the young people."

Well, not *all* the young people. The movements of the New Left, to Izzy, were essentially generational events. The Left in the Sixties was "the kids," or "campus rebels," and their tone and style sometimes jarred his sensibilities. He adopted an appropriately avuncular and compassionate tone:

"I do not like much of what they [the campus rebels] are saying and doing," he wrote in 1969. "I do not like to hear opponents shouted down, much less beaten up. I do not like to hear any one group or class, including police-

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men, called pigs. I do not think four-letter words are arguments. I hate *hate*, intolerance and violence. . . . But I feel about the rebels as Erasmus did about Luther. Erasmus helped inspire the Reformation but was repelled by the men who brought it to fruition. . . . Lifelong dissent has made me suspicious of victory. I feel uneasy at the very idea of a Movement. I see every insight degenerating into dogma, and fresh thoughts freezing into lifeless party line . . . [But] the business of the moment is to end the war, to break the growing dominance of the military in our society, to liberate the blacks, the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Rican and the Indian from injustice. This is the business of our best youth. However confused and chaotic, their unwillingness to submit any longer is our one hope."

One bizarre episode in the history of the Sixties movements struck Stone as a turning point in the relationship of repression and dissent: Jerry Rubin's outrageous appearance in 1966 before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Rubin was called to testify about stalling troop trains in California during anti-war demonstrations. He entered the imposing hearing room all got up in Paul Revere drag, and gave the first of those blasphemous performances that came later to characterize the Yip-Zip Left. But Stone saw that theatrical caper break the "choreographed" confrontations of Committeemen and Communists that punctuated his own haunted Fifties. By refusing to dance the part of fearful, trembling witnesses, Rubin and his troupe helped destroy an all-too-hallowed set piece. Stone was amused and impressed at Rubin's political success–where his own generation had failed.

["I WANT TO WRITE POETRY"]

Age and inclination and sense of propriety kept Izzy away from most of the confusion and chaos of the Left in those days. He associated more with the older radic-libs, academicians, teachers-in and anti-war organizers. The rhetoric of revolution filled the political papers, but Stone dug in to his style of fact-ferreting and lesson-drawing: how McNamara and Johnson lied about the Gulf of Tonkin; what General Westmoreland was covering up about the bombing of North Vietnam; why Humphrey was as bad as the rest of the politicians about Vietnam.

Increasingly, Izzy became a permanent critic of American policy in Vietnam, the vigilant watchdog of White Papers, the disposer of humbug wherever it hid. It was a role quite different from that played by the young radical writers then working on underground papers (although Stone thinks the *Weekly* was a model and influence for shoe-string underground operations in the Sixties). Few of the younger generation of journalists fancied the style of critic or watchdog; "guerrilla journalism" was a snappier identification. "Pick up the pen" was just a shot away from "pick up the gun."

It couldn't be more different with Izzy:

"I want to write poetry," he told me, smiling slyly; not the stuff that scans, of course, but fine literature.

I asked him, "Why do you do what you do?"

"The *Weekly* was something to do when the *Compass*–the last successor to *PM*–folded," Stone said. "I had to support my family in some way. Also, I hoped I could comfort some of the people under attack and all alone in those days. And there was something else; I remember walking across the Capitol grounds one day back then and thinking about the McCarthy crowd.'Well, I may be just a Red Jew son-of-a-bitch to them, but I'm keeping Thomas Jefferson alive.' " Izzy smiled again, mixing embarrassment and pride.

In early 1966, by his own reckoning (probably *only* by his own reckoning) Izzy Stone became "a writer," perhaps a poet, but certainly something more than a reporter. The occasion was one of those infrequent self-assignments away from Washington. Perhaps no one can be a "writer" in Washington. Stone went to Indochina to examine first-hand the war he had been writing about for a few years.

Stone leafed through a collection of his pieces (there are several in print) and found the Saigon article.

"What I remember most of Saigon is the heat, the squalor and the despair," he read to me, with nostalgic relish. He still likes that lead; the possibility of felicitous writing is a constant inspiration for production.

"Journalism is to literature as whoring is to love," Izzy laughed. "I proved myself as a journalist. I've been a journalist since I was 14 years old. I lost my nostalgia for the newsroom about ten years ago, though; I guess I had always been romantic about the newspaper business.

"Now, I'd like for once in my life a chance to do my best–not to work under the pressure of a deadline, not having to do things half-assed and half-baked. In journalism you can be so damn articulate that anything can be wrapped up and made to sound so portentous. Then after you make the long march you find yourself coming back to where you started, but in a richer frame of mind. You can put the questions better, or so you seem to. When you start getting away from journalism you can spend a lifetime on anything and not finish. The book I want to do is about the whole problem of freedom of expression and thought in human society. It scares me to death because there's so much to read and learn. I want to put all the experience from bourgeois and communist society in one pot. Freedom of thought is all very precarious, but I think it's close to an absolute."

What Izzy does *not* do–he says–is "muckrake." He despises the term and thinks the category demeans the best practitioners of reporting. He hates terms like "investigative journalism" ("all journalism is investigative," he growled), scoffs at faddish concepts like "Communication," as in academic "Departments of Communication." In a way, he would deny any attempt to name that thing which he does; he would feel trapped by the category, the concept, the fad.

Stone values his independence more than anything. He sometimes feels beleaguered when his friends resent his attacks on their pet politics; but more often than not he savors the confrontation. "A writer gives his readers an earnest of his dependibility if he's not afraid to be inconsistent. The world looks different from week to week," he said to me. In fact, his readers are more inconsistent than he is. He was both politically and sentimentally attracted to Israel from its founding; he wrote romantically of the new state in its early years. But he has consistently criticized the

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more aggressive and chauvinistic aspects of Israel's policies. He can attack tyranny of thought in People's China as easily as in Republican Washington: "I hate bureaucrats. I don't see any reason to like them in Moscow any more than here," he said simply.

There are, of course, counter criticisms of Izzy–ones that were probably more popular a few years ago than they are today, when the pitch of politics was much higher. Stone was attacked from the far Left as a "bourgeois individualist," more concerned with freedom of thought for an intellectual elite than with total revolution for the masses. His self-identification with the plight of Solzhenitsyn probably annoys a lot of younger radicals and older CPers. But Stone doesn't stop at Solzhenitsyn: imprisoned intellectuals are examples and symptoms of a deeper worldwide repression in which everyone suffers, whether the country is Communist or capitalist.

[A CAPACITY FOR RAGE]

Looking at Izzy from outside the demands of ideological doctrine, I've always felt that his life style and his writing work well for him, and ring true because of his particular history and the struggles of his time. In others, the respectability he has achieved might become self-satisfaction, that libertarianism might seem evasive, that independence might seem elitist. But after all, independence, libertarianism, and respectability are hardly perjorative attributes. They are annoying if used dishonestly. But in Izzy they survive authentically, more than in most political writers around these days.

It's honesty that has kept Izzy away from the rest of the Washington press corps–at least until the Watergate wash of journalistic piety swept the capital. Of course, his Leftism was always suspect in the politically conventional corps. But more importantly, Izzy's seriousness about his subjects–above his concern for his career and reputation–set him apart from his putative "colleagues."

The Washington Press Corps isn't entirely mendacious, although there is more than enough sloth, self-service and sleaziness in most press bureaus there. The real problem is the buddy system, by which press people and politicians boost each other's status and advance one another's careers while maintaining the myths of intrepid journalism and investigative reportage. Prizes and rewards are no sure tests of integrity; some of the "best" reporters and bureau chiefs are heavily tied to this or that bureaucrat or government official. These days, the bulk of prizes are given to the reporters with buddies in the liberal wing of the Congressional Democratic Party; a few years back, the place to be was in the West Wing of the White House. But it hardly matters where the buddies are; once again, it's that system that counts for most.

Izzy, almost by definition, has no buddies in power. For a brief moment towards the end of the anti-war movement, he was able to get more information than usual from the few hard-core Congresspeople on the fringes of that movement. Generally, however, they had little power: and, more to the point, Izzy usually knew more than they did. Izzy always had to fight to get even a few of the privileges of the working Washington press stiff. He brought suit to get a seat in the Congressional press galleries, was unable to get a White House pass, and has been *persona non grata* at the Press Club since the 1940s, when he brought a black friend to lunch there. Izzy was enraged when he was ejected for violating the journalists' code of racism. He's never been asked back.

It is always amazing to encounter Izzy's *anger,* his capacity for rage at the functioning of a system we all assumed to be malevolent, and had long ago ceased to pick apart. Izzy somehow willingly suspends his disbelief in the American system; it is possible–just possible–to clean up the muck before we all drown. Perhaps that's why he has been accepted, to a degree, by reformist liberals. In spite of himself, he offers a few helpful hints about making America work.

"I always hated that Twenties stuff about constructive criticism," Stone grumbled. "They always attacked Mencken for not being constructive." Izzy mischievously pretends that his own criticisms were "unconstructive," but of course they were not.

Maybe it is impossible to be "constructive" in an honest way at this moment. While there was an anti-war movement, Izzy and the *Weekly* connected with it and helped chart its course; the movement and the writing gave each other strength. Now, Izzy Stone, and those who take after him, seem suspended in historical space, the writing disconnected though no less pungent.

"I really have so much fun, I ought to be arrested," Stone says at the end of the documentary film. "Sometimes I think it's wrong of me . . . to be able to spit in their eye, and do what you think is right, and report the news, and have enough readers to make some impact, is such a pleasure, that you forget, you forget, what you're writing about. It becomes like, you're a journalistic Nero fiddling while Rome burns, or like a small boy covering a hell of a big fire. It's just wonderful and exciting and you're a cub reporter and God has given you a big fire to cover.

"And you forget–that it's really burning."

But the fires–especially the big ones–are not things that an individual writer can often help, or control. Writers are creations and victims of their times more than masters of their history. They do not make revolutions. The duty of a revolutionary may be to make a revolution; but is the duty of a writer more than to write well?

America has never developed a complete "Left journalism" in the style of European or Latin American political cultures. There is the sectarian Left press, which serves its limited purposes, and there was an "underground" (and lately, an "alternative") journalism which had its brief successes. It didn't last. The pressures of the journalistic establishment–to deny rewards, legitimacy, and status to the non-conformist–are difficult for an independent radical to withstand. In other countries, whole Left cultures can support their writers. It's not that way here.

That's what makes I. F. Stone so unusual. He flourished long before and survives after other experimenters in independent radical journalism withered or withdrew. I don't know if there is a future for his style of writing in America, at least in the near and middle distances. But it is a valuable form to encourage, and an important idea to pursue. "Poor Izzy?" It's a shame there's only one. □

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All Said and Done

by Simone de Beauvoir

Every morning, even before I open my eyes, I know I am in my bedroom and my bed. But if I go to sleep after lunch in the room where I work, sometimes I wake up with a feeling of childish amazement—why am I myself? What astonishes me, just as it astonishes a child when he becomes aware of his own identity, is the fact of finding myself here, and at this moment, deep in this life and not in any other. What stroke of chance has brought this about? And it was chance, a chance quite unpredictable in the present state of science, that caused me to be born a woman. From that point on, it seems to me that a thousand different futures might have stemmed from every single movement of my past: I might have fallen ill and broken off my studies; I might not have met Sartre; anything at all might have happened.

I set off from the fact that I was born on 9 January 1908, the daughter of Georges and Francoise de Beauvoir. Seen from the outside, this fact (quite overwhelming for me in its unique quality) is perfectly commonplace. By marrying, she at twenty, he at thirty, and by having a baby a year later, two young bourgeois were conforming to the customs of the particular world in which they lived and of their time. It was laid down in advance what this child's state should be—French, bourgeois, and Catholic: only its sex was unforeseen. Seeing that my parents were in easy circumstances, it was very likely that I should not die prematurely and that I should be blessed with good health. A clearly-defined future lay before me—watchful care; a family of immediate and of more distant relations; a nurse, Louise; the flat in Paris; the country house in the Lim-

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ousin; and almost certainly the coming of a second child.

As chance would have it, this child was a girl. I believe I should count the fact of having had a sister, younger than myself but close to me in age, as one of my pieces of good luck. She helped me to assert myself. I invented the mixture of authority and affection that marked my dealings with her. It was I, of my own initiative, who taught her to read, write and count. It was I who worked out our games and our living relationship. Of course, my attitude towards her arose from my being what I was: I was a happy, well-adjusted child, self-confident and open; there was nothing to prevent me from heartily welcoming a younger sister, one of whom I was not in the least jealous. I was an active, bossy little girl, and I longed to get away from the passivity of childhood by means of effectual action: she provided me with the best possible opportunity.

As for the rest, my freedom consisted of accepting the lot laid down for me, and of accepting it cheerfully, even zealously. My piety had ardor in it; and straight away I became the best pupil at the Cours Désir. When in 1919 my parents were reduced to near-poverty, they set their faith on the cultural values rather than the "conspicuous expenditure" that my father might have preferred. As my chief amusement they offered me reading, an inexpensive delight. I was passionately devoted to books. I loved my father and my father loved books: he had filled my mother with a religious respect for them. They satisfied my curiosity--a curiosity that was active in me as far back as I can remember and that has never faded.

From my childhood until the time I came of age, I moved on from one discovery to the next; my life was an adventure. Yet at the same time it followed given cycles, as all life does. This was particularly striking during the years I spent at the Cours Désir. I went there almost every day, making the same journey by foot or by Métro, and there I found the same teachers and the same companions. My Sundays were repetitions of the foregoing Sundays and the summer holidays those of the year before. This routine fell to pieces after my baccalaureat. The Collège Sainte-Marie, the Institut Catholique and above all the Sorbonne were great new experiences. I discovered the Bibliothèque Nationale. I grew accustomed to unknown faces. But still I was firmly pinned in my parents' home and compelled to follow their rhythm of life.

Towards twelve I became restless, troublesome and irreverent. The harsh reactions of the good ladies at the Cours Désir brought about a private rebellion within me: I renounced their morality and the God who underwrote it. I was most uncomfortably aware of the gap between my teachers' and my parents' image of me and my own truth. I had made myself freely; and, with the approval of one and all, I thought I had made myself into an eager, hard-working student: and there I was, turned into a monster. At this I became sullen at home, closed-in, gloomy and hostile. But even in my gloomiest days my sanguine nature urged me to put my trust in the future. I believed in my star; I believed that what would happen to me could not but be good.

* * *

A person is shown as clearly by what he does not grasp as by what he does; sometimes even more so. Both Louis XVI and the late Tsar, by writing in effect "Today, nothing" in their private diaries when revolution was breaking out all round them, tell us more about themselves than by any of their words or deeds. And between 1929 and 1939 the whole of the French left wing suffered from political blindness. It was easy for me to share this blindness, since I did not feel the pressure of history in such a way that it worried me at all. And I wanted to be blind: I wanted to believe that nothing, ever, could disturb my happiness. The Popular Front meant a good deal to me; and that was because it brought hope and not threats. I was stirred by the war in Spain, but I did not think it had anything to do with me personally. The use I made of my freedom was to fail to appreciate the truth of the time in which I was living.

In 1939 this truth suddenly stared me in the face. Then I knew that I was undergoing my life, suffering it, for I had stopped agreeing to what was prescribed to me: the war tore me apart; it separated me from Sartre; it cut me off from my sister. I moved from dread to despair, then to anger and distrust shot through with flashes of hope. In 1940 there was no possible hesitation on the intellectual plane: I was incapable of doing anything but hate Nazism and collaboration. My line of conduct also required that I should try to react to the situation without letting myself be crushed. Once a fellow prisoner had reassured me about the fate of Sartre I determined to place all my hopes on a happy future. I turned to Hegel to make the course of history comprehensible to me; and I welcomed and sought out every possible kind of distraction. Above all I set out finishing *She Came to Stay* and I wrote *Blood of Others.* What I did not find was a way of converting my opposition to Nazism into acts. It was Sartre, after he had come back from his camp, who took the necessary steps: the first, the setting up of the resistance group *Socialisme et liberté,* astonished me to begin with, but he persuaded me of its soundness and from that moment on I took part in his political activities. I adapted myself to the wartime shortages by turning my worries into a kind of obsessive game. Circumstances led us to leave Paris in July 1944; in spite of the difficulties we came back of our own initiative to be present at that splendid and joyful event, the Liberation.

In 1945 I was back on my rails and there were few decisions for me to take. All I had left to do was to create opportunities. My objective reality as a writer, a member of the *Temps modernes* team, the *grande sartreuse* [an obvious pun on Grande Chartreuse, and Simone de Beauvoir's well-known nickname], brought me a great many; my only task was to decide which to accept and which to reject.

I had no idea of the extent of the repression at Sétif in 1945, and until 1954 I knew nothing about the true situation in Algeria; nor did I know what was really happening in the USSR and the people's democracies. Even if one does not know a great deal, one must take up a stand; and that does not happen without hesitations and mistakes. As for our relations with the Communist Party and

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the socialist countries, there I followed Sartre in his fluctuations. From time to time it was shatteringly clear that we were bound to reject certain grossly discreditable things—the Soviet camps, the Rajk and Slansky trials, Budapest. Our attitudes towards capitalism, imperialism and colonialism were sharp and clear: they were to be fought against in our writing and if possible by acts. I was intellectually committed in this struggle, but on the practical plane I was not very active. I find the boredom of congresses and committees hard to bear. Still, I did take part in the Helsinki Congress of 1955. That same year I wrote a book on China, where I had spent two months; the book was intended to make the Chinese Revolution more widely known. On various occasions I signed manifestoes and attended meetings. I did a few small things during the war in Algeria and against Gaullism.

When I reflect upon the general course of my life, I find it has a striking continuity. I was born in Paris and I have always lived there: even during the years in Marseilles and Rouen, my roots were still in Paris. I have moved several times, but I have always stayed in more or less the same district: today I live only five minutes away from my first home. Paris has changed immensely since I was young, but still I can find my youth in many places—the Luxembourg, the Sorbonne, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Boulevard Montparnasse, the Place St.-Germain-des-Prés. I no longer write in cafés, but I still work with much the same rhythm and according to the same methods. I do not go for long walks any more, but I drive about in my car. My occupations have always been the same—reading, the cinema, listening to records, looking at pictures.

At present I am concerned with recovering my life—reviving forgotten memories, re-reading, re-seeing, rounding off incomplete pieces of knowledge, filling gaps, clarifying obscurities, gathering scattered elements together. Just as though there had to be a moment when my experience was to be summed up, and as though it mattered that this summing-up should be done. Some primitive peoples suppose that after their death they will remain forever exactly as they were at the moment it struck them—young or old, strong or decrepit. I am behaving as though my life were to go on beyond my grave as I have managed to regain it in my last years. Yet I know very well that "I can't take it with me." I shall *all* die.

I mind it less than once I did. I no longer feel the haunting anxiety of death that was so very strong in my youth. I have given up rebelling against it. Speaking of physical pain, Freud says, "It could be called vile and shameful, if there were anyone to blame for it." This applies to death too: the emptiness of heaven takes anger away. My indignation is now directed only against evils stirred up by men. Yet the idea of my end is with me. Beneath my feet there stretches a road: behind me it emerges from the darkness and in front of me it plunges into the night. I have traveled more than three-quarters of its length, and the space left for me to traverse is short. Ordinarily the picture is static: but sometimes a conveyor belt hurries me towards the abyss. The last time I saw a coffin lowered into a grave—it was Madame Mancy's—the thought came to me with brilliant clarity, "Soon it will be my turn." When I sleep I no longer have those comforting nightmares in which after my death a voice still speaks, saying, "I am dead." But I do sometimes wake up swimming in confused anxiety: the taste of the void is deep within me.

* * *

Sartre's life is as closely a part of mine as ever. At present he lives on the Boulevard Raspail, five minutes from me; from his study on the tenth floor there is an immense view over Paris, with the Montparnasse cemetery in the foreground; I work at his place every afternoon, and as evening comes on I watch the sun set, sometimes in astonishing splendor. We spend the evenings in my flat. His activities since 1962 are too well known for me to deal with them here. I shall speak of just one episode, that of the Nobel prize.

At the beginning of autumn 1964, Pace, an Italian philosopher with whom Sartre had often had discussions, wrote to him: he wanted Sartre to send him the speech he would make on receiving the Nobel prize. Was there then some question of giving it to Sartre this year? Yes, we learnt, there was. He was inclined to refuse it, and I encouraged him. Our middle-aged friends urged him to accept, but the students I asked reacted violently—what a profound disappointment for the young if he were to let himself be given the prize!

Sartre made up his mind. He had a proud horror of "honors": he had no notion of going to make an exhibition of himself at Stockholm. Who were these academicians who took it upon themselves to select him? Their choices had a political tinge: never had the prize been awarded to a Communist. If Sartre had been one he might have been able to accept, since by making that decision the Swedish Academy would have shown its impartiality; but he was not a Communist and giving him the prize meant not that his political positions were acknowledged but that they were looked upon as of no importance. He did not mean to allow himself to be brought back to the fold. He wrote a letter in which he very politely begged the Academy not to inflict a prize on him that he would be obliged to refuse.

The letter had no effect. We were having lunch in a café near my flat when a journalist (he had no doubt been keeping watch on us) came and told us the news. Sartre decided to explain the reasons for his refusal to a Swedish journalist he had met through Claude Gallimard at the Mercure de France. In this statement, which was read in Stockholm by his publisher's representative and which was printed in many papers, Sartre recalled that he had always refused official distinctions because he felt that a writer should not let himself be turned into an institution; and then again he regretted that the Nobel prize was reserved "for the writers of the West and for the rebels of the East." (Sartre said, "It was given to Pasternak and not to Sholokhov." Our friends in the USSR completely misunderstood the words. They thought Sartre was deserting the "liberal" for the "Stalinist" side.)

Sartre did not want to talk to the press before this statement had been communicated to the Swedish Academy. He came to see me at five

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o'clock, and his mother telephoned us –she was living very close to him–to say that there was a crowd of journalists waiting for him outside his block. Some of them guessed he had taken refuge with me and they rang on my bell until two in the morning. In order to have some peace, Sartre went out and let them photograph him, but he said only a few words.

As soon as I woke up, I saw photographers and a television van in the street; Sartre was seized upon the moment he went out. The journalists and television men followed him as far as his flat. Finally, when he reached the door, he said to them, "I have no wish to be buried." That afternoon the woman who keeps a pork-butcher's shop next to his block said to me compassionately, "Poor Monsieur Sartre! Two years ago it was the OAS. And now the Nobel prize. They will never leave him in peace!"

Of course the press accused Sartre of having arranged the whole thing out of love for publicity. They hinted that he had refused the prize because Camus had had it before him: or because I should have been jealous. He must obviously be very rich to despise 26 million francs. What took Sartre aback even more was the letters from people who wanted him to take the money and to give them some of it, or all of it, or even rather more: they would use it for the protection of animals, for the preservation of a certain species of tree, to buy a business, repair a farm, or to treat themselves to a voyage. They all accepted the principles of capitalism; big, well-established fortunes did not shock them, nor did Mauriac's having devoted the whole prize to putting in a bathroom: but the fact that Sartre should scorn such a sum filled them with frustration.

* * *

Until 1966 we spent several weeks every summer in the USSR. We were interested in following the country's evolution; and we were attracted both by the variety of its landscapes and the beauty of its former cultural wealth. And above all we had made many friends: we were all the more anxious to maintain links with them since year by year they were losing ground in their struggle with the conformists. Sartre had considerable sums in royalties in Moscow and he paid all our expenses. Thanks to invitations from the Writers' Union we obtained our visas; and the Union placed an interpreter at our disposal.

We were on terms of the warmest friendship with Ehrenburg. It was he who told us all about Russian cultural

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life and its hidden sides. He often came to Paris. When we were in Moscow we went to see him at his dacha, a pretty, very simple house surrounded by a garden—he loved growing flowers and vegetables himself and he was very proud of having introduced a plant unknown in Russia: the artichoke. We also visited his flat in Moscow, near Gorki Street. It was a positive museum. Before the war he had been *Izvestia*'s correspondent in Paris for years, and he had known all the painters in Montparnasse: he had an immense collection of pictures they had given him, including many paintings, drawings and lithographs by Picasso. There were also Chagalls, Légers, Matisses and pictures by Russian painters such as Falk and Tishler. He knew a great deal about painting and in Moscow he supported the avant-garde artists. As far as writing was concerned, he was less receptive. He saw no merit in Kafka, Proust or Joyce and he had no more than a partial appreciation of Sartre's work. Yet as he grew older he became more and more tolerant and there was never any subject that we could not discuss. In the USSR he protected young writers who were looked upon as anti-conformist. He was popular with the rising generation. He was less elegant than he had been in Helsinki and he had aged physically—only one tooth left. His lack of a false set was no doubt due to the Russians' dread of their dentists: either from want of skill or because they do not care, they make their patients suffer cruelly. Intellectually he had retained all his charm; he chose his anecdotes well and he told them admirably.

On 8 March 1963 Khrushchev had addressed an audience that included party and government leaders, writers and artists; it was a speech 20,000 words long in which he defended Stalin and made a vehement attack on formalism and abstraction in writing and the fine arts, firing several broadsides at Ehrenburg, Nekrassov, Yevtushenko and even Paustovsky. Friends had told us of a film about the conflict between the generations called *The Lenin Barrier* that they had seen at a private showing; and they praised it very highly. Khrushchev tore it to pieces. Of all the writers, Ehrenburg was picked out for the severest criticism. When they were talking privately together, Khrushchev blamed him for having had a bad influence on Sartre—for having incited him to leave the Communist Party. Ehrenburg observed that Sartre had never belonged to it; but it was no use: Khrushchev remained unconvinced. Ehrenburg's position was very worrying. The authorities would not let the rest of his memoirs be published and the printing of the complete edition of his works was suspended. There were consolations—whenever he addressed an audience of students they gave him an ovation. But it was a hard blow from the material point of view. He had nothing but his royalties to live on and to maintain his wife and two old sisters—they lived in his dacha. If he were not published, it would mean extreme poverty. He told us that he spent a great deal of time working in his garden to calm his mind, but that nevertheless he was still very uneasy.

By 1964 Ehrenburg's situation had righted itself. His books were being published once more. He gave us the inside story of the Brodsky affair: it was one that all our friends found very painful indeed—some went so far as to speak of a "return of Stalinism"—but they did not know the details. Brodsky was a young red-haired Jew who lived in Leningrad and who wrote poems; he earned his living as a translator, but he was not part of any state organization and he did not belong to the Writers' Union. Ehrenburg liked him and thought he had talent. Brodsky was accused of "parasitism," a charge that is brought against almost nobody but whores and their protectors.

Three members of the Writers' Union defended Brodsky: they stated that he was a highly talented poet and an excellent translator. But then appeared an overwhelming number of witnesses for the prosecution: they said that Brodsky's supporters were all idle, cunning rogues. Brodsky did not love his country: he had spoken of the "grey crowd" that flows along the streets. He was a counterrevolutionary: he had called Marx "an old glutton crowned with fir cones." He corrupted the young by his example and by his poems: one father complained that his son had read Brodsky's verse and now refused to work. Brodsky was savagely attacked both as an intellectual and as a Jew. He was sentenced to five years forced labor and sent to a state farm near Archangel.

Later we heard news of Brodsky. He was getting along well with the peasants, and his work was chiefly to do with horses, which he did not dislike at all. At Ehrenburg's suggestion Sartre sent Mikoyan a letter through the Writers' Union, asking for Brodsky to be pardoned. Shortly after, Brodsky was allowed to return to a normal life in Leningrad.

* * *

At a COMES (Community of European Writers) meeting in Rome in October 1965 we met Simonov, Surkov, Tvardovsky and other less well-known Russian friends. They told us that an affair far more serious than that of Brodsky was about to come to light in Moscow: two writers, Sinyavsky and Daniel, were accused of having published anti-Soviet works abroad, using the pen names of Abraham Tertz and Arjak.

Ehrenburg explained that the most important form of publishing in the USSR at present was *samizdat*—self-publishing. Those writers whom the censors condemned to silence would not submit; helped by their friends they had their manuscripts typed and handed about. A full-blown and exceedingly interesting clandestine literature, said Ehrenburg, was developing side by side with official writing. Some of Daniel's stories had been passed through the Iron Curtain and they were published in France under the title *Ici Moscou:* the same had happened to stories and a study written by Sinyavsky, which appeared under the title *The Icicle.* I had read *The Icicle:* I had not felt particularly enthusiastic about it, but I had detected no attacks against the USSR. They were ironical, critical tales; but they were not anti-Soviet. For his part Daniel denounced the terrorism of the Stalin regime, but he did not attack socialism as such. Yet those in authority were of the opinion that Daniel and Sinyavsky had slandered their country.

In October they were arrested. *Izvestia* and the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* attacked them violently. On 31

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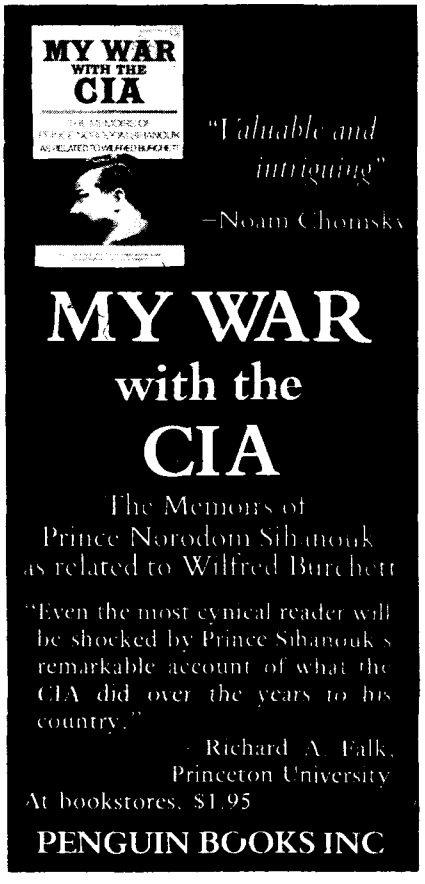
December some students attempted to demonstrate in Moscow, shouting, "A public trial for Sinyavsky," but the police dispersed them. The trial took place in February 1966 before a carefully chosen public composed solely of party members. The defendants were allowed to speak, and they pleaded not guilty; but the papers did not publish their defense. The court considered their case jointly with that of Tarsis, who had in fact written very violent works against the regime and who had been allowed to leave the country three days before the trial, labeled a paranoiac. The court declared that Sinyavsky and Daniel were guilty of having damaged the social and political regime of the USSR—the subversive perversity of their actions was proved by the manner in which the bourgeois press had exploited their propaganda. They were sentenced to re-education in a hard-labor camp, Sinyavsky for seven years and Daniel for five. On Ehrenburg's initiative 62 writers signed a petition calling for the release of the condemned and offering to be responsible for them. Seeing that the Writers' Union had 6,000 members, the figure of 62 was derisory. It called for a great deal of courage to sign: putting one's name to this petition meant taking the risk of never being sent abroad again, of losing one's job and of remaining unpublished forever.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At the Twenty-Third Congress of the Party, which was held immediately after the trial, Sholokov expressed his extreme regret that the guilty men had not been punished more severely: In Lenin's time, said he, they would have been shot. He also criticized the intellectuals who had stood surety for them. "I feel doubly ashamed for those who offered their services and who asked for these renegades to be released under supervision." He asserted that the only people to protest against the trial were the "bourgeois defenders" of Daniel and Sinyavsky. Yet on 16 April *L'Humanité* published a declaration in which Aragon, speaking for himself and for the French Communist Party, condemned the trial. The Italian party adopted the same attitude. *L'Humanité* was banned in Moscow for a week. We arrived on 2 May. "What are you doing here in the midst of all this?" asked Ehrenburg. According to him, the present position of the intellectuals was disastrous. All we met expressed their indignation at the trial, even those who had not signed the petition. They told us that Sinyavsky was being very harshly treated in the labor camp, and Daniel even worse. Throughout our stay in Moscow almost every conversation revolved about this subject. Our friends were exceedingly upset, worried and anxious. Those who used the *samizdat* only did so with extreme caution: no interesting work was appearing.

In 1963 we had published Solzhenitsyn's admirable *Matriona's House* in *Les Temps modernes,* translated by Cathala; before that the tale had appeared in *Novy Mir,* but it had been severely criticized. We had also brought out two of his other stories, and we should have liked to know him. A common friend suggested that he arrange a meeting. Then one day Lena told us that Solzhenitsyn had telephoned: he wanted to see her. We thought it was to fix an appointment with us. But when she came back, having talked to him for an hour, she was quite out of countenance. "He does not want to see you," she said to Sartre.

Why not? Solzhenitsyn had not explained himself very clearly. In effect what he had said was this: "Sartre, do you see, is a writer whose work has all been published. Every time he writes a book he knows it will be read. So I really do not feel that I can talk to him: I should suffer too much." His reaction surprised us. There was no doubt that Sartre knew him better than he knew Sartre, few of whose books had been translated into Russian—only some plays and *Words.* From that point of view they would meet on an equal footing. Perhaps Solzhenitsyn wanted neither to look as though he were making the best of his lot nor to tell a stranger of the ideas that he expressed a year later in his letter to the Writers' Congress. What we did see quite clearly was the fact that for a writer the greatest curse of all was being condemned to silence, to darkness.

In 1967 we refused to attend the congress of the Soviet Writers' Union: if we had gone it would have looked as though we approved of the condemnation of Sinyavsky and Daniel and of the way in which Solzhenitsyn had been reduced to silence. The proceedings of the congress and the repression exercised against a great many liberal intellectuals during the following year did not encourage us to return to the USSR in 1968. But it was the events in Czechoslovakia that determined us to break with the Soviet Union for good.

I am writing these lines in May 1971. All the Czech and Slovak intellectuals we knew have been expelled from the Communist Party. They have lost their jobs and they find it extremely difficult to live. Or else they are in exile. The Russians have disappointed all our hopes. Never has the situation of the intellectuals been so critical. None of our friends can obtain permission to come and see us any more, and we know that they all feel completely powerless. Amalric, for having told the truth about his country, has once again been sent to Siberia, and there he is dying.

Simon de Beauvoir is author of Second Sex, The Coming of Age, *and many other works.*

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The Almanac

by Tom Zeman

Since the century began, American expansionist ambitions have focused on the Pacific and, to judge by recent Administration actions (such as Nixon's promise of "maximum possible assistance" to Lon Nol in Cambodia), the Vietnam debacle has left the American preoccupation with that region undiminished. Fortunately, the quality of Left concern for the Pacific—both as a monitor and an interpreter of events there—has also remained very high despite the end of the mass antiwar movement.

The bimonthly *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram* is undoubtedly the best source of in-depth information and analysis on the Far East. An issue will typically contain one long comprehensive (often historical) article, plus book reviews, some short items, and perhaps a bibliography. The material is readable, carefully and solidly argued, and lavishly documented. It could appeal to either a general reader interested in the area, or a serious scholar. One issue, devoted to a long article on the importance of Southeast Asia in the genesis of World War II, also contained an editorial statement appraising and criticizing the article—a very attractive feature peculiar to Left literature. The *Telegram* does not shy away from reviewing and appreciating useful literature not written from a radical perspective. It is published by the Pacific Studies Center in East Palo Alto, California, which writes and researches most of the articles. Subscriptions are $5 for two years ($15 for institutions). Write Pacific Studies Center, 1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, CA 94303.

For first-rate economic reporting on the Pacific region, try the *Pacific Imperialism Notebook.* The notebook, put out monthly by the Pacific Rim Project in San Francisco, runs about 24 mimeographed pages per issue, usually containing half a dozen articles of varying length. It takes current (often little noticed) economic and business events, sketches out their political and economic implications, and gives you a good preview of news that may come out of the Pacific in the near future (for instance, the Japanese and American interest in Soviet natural gas). Occasional notes of rhetorical stridency don't seriously mar the high quality of their information and analysis (all carefully documented). For a year's subscription, send $7.50 ($15 for institutions) to Pacific Rim Project, Box 26415, San Francisco, CA 94126.

[VIETNAM]

A coalition of moderate antiwar groups (ACLU, SANE, AFSC, etc.) has launched a peace campaign designed to elect a Congress in November that will put a firm halt to U.S. intervention in Indochina. They're trying to get Congressmen and various church, labor and civic groups to sign a "peace pledge" committing them to end the war. Write: Indochina Peace Campaign, 181 Pier, Santa Monica, California 90405 ([213] 392-3942). You can get their bi-monthly *Indochina Focal Point* newspaper for $4 a year.

Meanwhile, the continuing war and the U.S. role in it is still being monitored. The Indochina Resource Center, which has done much fine research and reporting on the area, has issued a 50-page booklet called *Breakdown of the Vietnam Ceasefire: The Need for a Balanced View.* It's a somewhat superficial treatment of cease-fire violations by both sides—mostly a compendium of quotations from the liberal press (*N.Y. Times, Washington Post,* etc.). Nevertheless, the information is useful. The Center still publishes the 12 page monthly *Indochina Chronicle,* which has lately been devoting each issue to one aspect of the Indochina tangle: Refugees, the PRG, the Paris Agreements and so on. They are informative, though a bit polemical. The best recent issue was one called *Congress and Indochina,* a fine and useful study of lobbying efforts on the Cambodian bombing and aid to Thieu. Subscriptions to the *Chronicle* are $4.00 a year—recent back issues are 30 cents each. The Ceasefire booklet is 75 cents. Write Indochina Resource Center, P.O. Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA. 94704.

For a thorough, penetrating look at Vietnam today, see the *Post-War War,* a slide show put together by *National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex* (NARMIC) which covers not only ceasefire violations, but the plight of the Vietnamese and the American policy position. I haven't seen the slides, but I've read the accompanying script; it is informative and powerful. A companion volume, called *Documenting the Post-War War,* is excellent, even if you don't see the slide show. The documentation runs to 265 pages, and ranges over newspaper clippings, books, congressional hearings, other documents, and first-person reports. For the volume of documents, send $5 to NARMIC at the American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, PA. 19102. The slide show itself costs $50, and you can arrange to preview it by contacting AFSC offices in most major cities.

[MICRONESIA]

Micronesia, a U.S.-held territory in the South Pacific, is the world's only remaining UN-designated "trust territory" not yet given its independence. The Micronesia group includes such islands as Bikini and Eniwetok, the still uninhabitable sites of U.S. nuclear bomb testing in years gone by; Guam, home of the B-52 bomber squadron during the Vietnam War; and Tinian, projected home for a gigantic new U.S. Air Force base. Despite this list of U.S.-imposed dubious distinctions, Micronesia receives little attention, and so it is good to find the *Friends of Micronesia Newsletter.* Put out by Roger Gale, who once taught political science at the University of Guam, the newsletter is chatty and newsy, featuring items on current U.S. military and business activities in the region, and on the Micronesian independence movement. It appears quarterly and runs about 20-30 pages per issue. Write: Friends of Micronesia, 2325 McKinley Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94703. Subscriptions are $5 a year, $7 for overseas airmail, and $12 for institutions.

News of political work, including publications, films, slide shows, etc. should be addressed to The Almanac, RAMPARTS *magazine, 2054 University Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704.*

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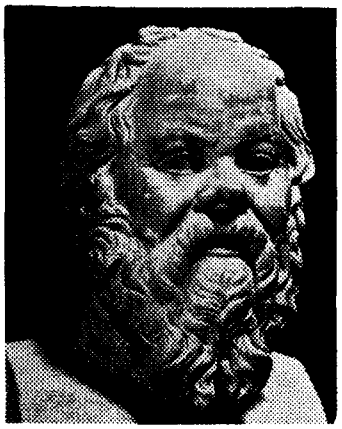

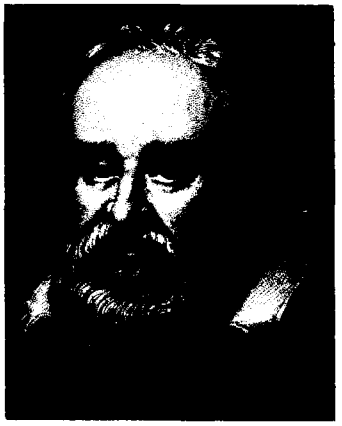

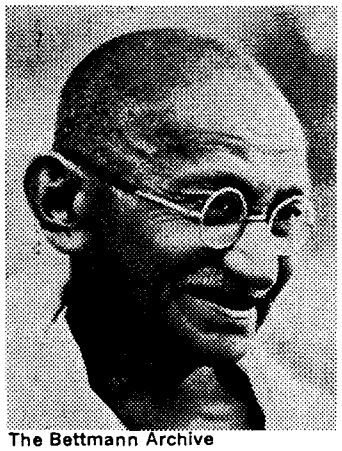

Today There Is a Way to Help Free Political Prisoners

The Bettmann Archive

Bob Fitch

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

SOCRATES, Jesus, Galileo, Martin Luther, Gandhi and Martin Luther King were only a handful of the most notable political prisoners of the past. Right now throughout the world, there are hundreds of thousands of men and women like them; prisoners whose only crime is who they are or what they think and say. Amnesty International calls them 'prisoners of conscience' and works for their freedom. During the last twelve years we have been successful in more than 7,500 cases. But the work has only begun and we need your help.

TODAY GOVERNMENTS of every political persuasion are in the habit of declaring people with whom they disagree, "criminal" or "insane" and then having them imprisoned, tortured or killed.

Regimes have no right to squelch dissent in order to keep themselves in office but they do have the power. Throughout history they have exercised that power freely and will continue to do so until world opinion is sufficiently aroused to stop them.

LETTING THE JAILER-GOVERNMENT KNOW SOMEONE IS WATCHING

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL is a world-wide non-partisan human rights movement having consultive status with the United Nations, UNESCO, OAS and the Council of Europe.

The way it works is surprisingly simple. Teams of individuals, like you, write letters to high officials of the jailer-governments. The teams publicize the cases, enlist the aid of influential people and visit the embassies and consulates concerned. They petition officials directly if traveling in those countries where their prisoners are held. The teams also regularly correspond with the prisoners and sometimes offer assistance to their families.

In short, Amnesty International demonstrates forcefully and continually to the prisoners and their governments that no one will be forgotten, and that injustice, mass arrests, mock trials and torture will never be tolerated.

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE:

"Persons who are imprisoned for expressing their religious or political beliefs or because of their ethnic origins, provided they have not used nor advocated the use of violence." Thousands of these "prisoners of conscience" are being held by the governments of Brazil, South Africa, Czechoslovakia and Pakistan. Thousands more are imprisoned in South Vietnam, Greece, the U.S.S.R. and Indonesia. These are only a few of the offending countries.

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Torture is practiced in over thirty countries. Your special help is needed.

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I care.

- ☐ I would like to join and help. Enclosed are my dues of fifteen dollars.
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SCARCITY (*From page 33*)

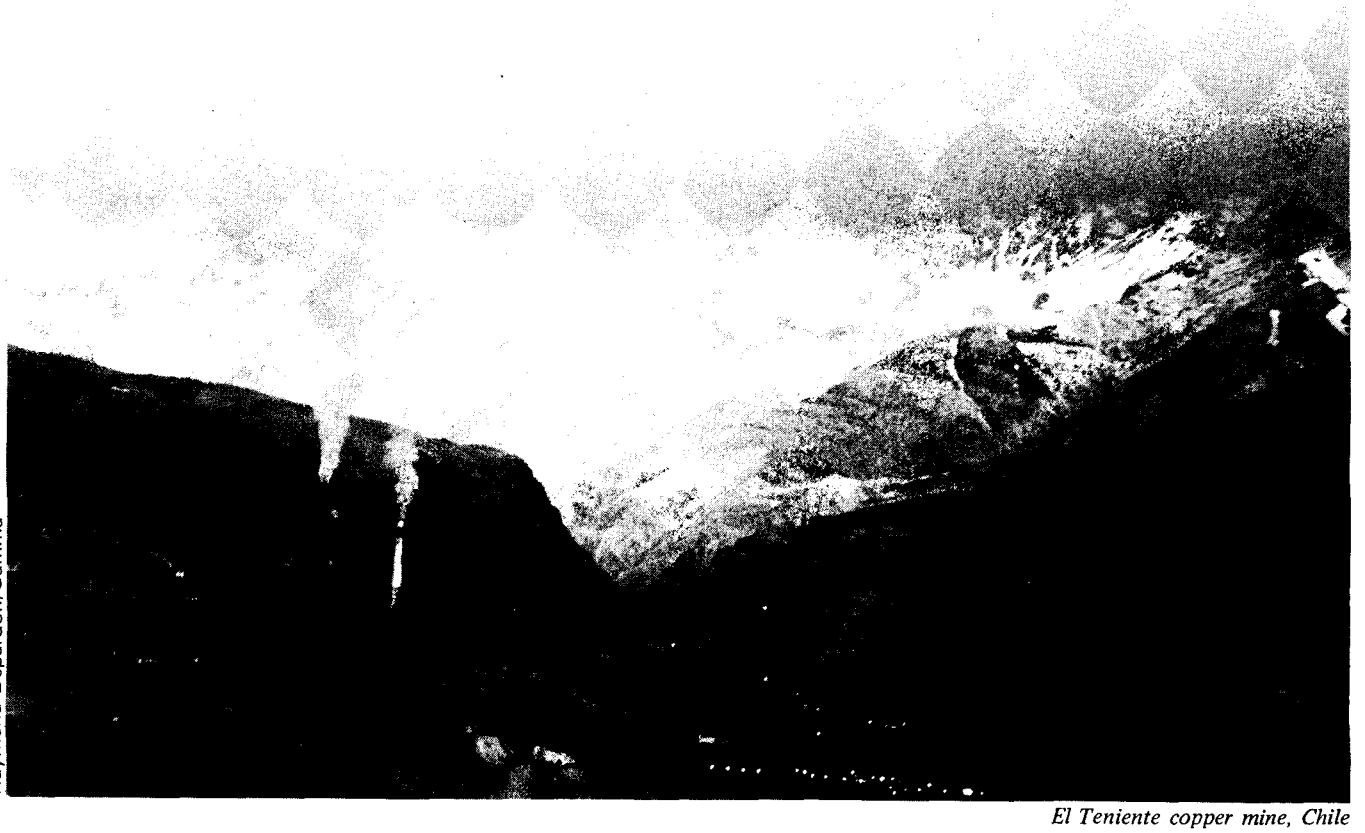
data. In 1972, according to official data, U.S. commercial exports (including foodstuffs) totaled $49.2 billion. Of this huge sum, only $1.3 billion went to India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines; 2.7 percent of U.S. commercial exports thus went to 25 percent of the Earth's population. Even these miniscule exports were more than paid for by $1.5 billion of imports from these self-same countries. The U.S., in terms of commercial trade, was virtually irrelevant to one-quarter of mankind. Combining U.S. exports to and imports from these countries, the total commerce was about 30 percent of what U.S. citizens spent in retail liquor stores in the same year. The U.S. spends annually on liquors, wines, and beer four times its import-export commerce with one-quarter of mankind and seven times what it exports to them.

To the whole of South America, with a population of some 180 million (about 86 percent of the U.S. population), U.S. 1972 exports totaled $3.7 billion or about 0.3 percent of U.S. GNP; to Africa, excluding South Africa, a bare $1 billion; to South Africa, with less than six percent of Africa's population, some $325 million or six times the export rate per capita to undeveloped Africa. To the whole of Asia, excluding Japan and Australia, exports from the U.S. were only $5.5 billion to about 54 percent of the people of the Earth—some $3 per head, which approximates, at wholesale, U.S. 1971-72 annual production of oats. To 70 percent of mankind, U.S. exports totaled $7 billion compared with $12.4 billion to Canada alone with six-tenths of one percent of the world's population.

What grows obvious is that, contrary to popular impression in this country, the U.S. has developed no meaningful trading patterns—to mutual advantage—with those very areas of the planet where new materials resources must now be sought. Because of this failure, the U.S. is wholly unprepared for the next major step forward in world economic evolution: the industrialization of retarded countries. How many Americans, for example, are aware that the two great undeveloped heavy-minerals areas of which immediate knowledge is available are Yugoslavia, and the mountain reaches of Northern Laos stretching eastward into North Vietnam? The Yugoslav deposits, suspected for over a century, have been proven only since World War II. The Indo-Chinese deposits have been known for more than 50 years.

The problem, for the United States, has been pursuit of secure profits in congenial environments instead of mutual endeavor with undeveloped lands to meet the needs of each. As a result, of U.S. corporate investments abroad totalling $86.2 billion at 1971 year-end, $58.6 billion (some 68 percent) were in Canada, Europe, Japan, Australia, and South Africa—all developed areas. Earnings on these investments were $6.8 billion for an 11.6 percent return on year's-start investment. But on a bare $1.5 billion of petroleum investments at year's-start in the Mideast, profits were an astonishing 165 percent per year in 1972; in all Third World countries outside the Western Hemisphere about 34.2 percent on all investments.

Could one really expect anything less than revolt against a system in which the rate of reproduction of U.S. foreign investments exceeded 100 percent in three years for all Third World countries outside this hemisphere, and increased at a fivefold rate in three years in Mideast petroleum—and the U.S. all the while complaining about the growing scarcity of minerals? Of course the



Raymond Depardon/Gamma

El Teniente copper mine, Chile

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scarcity was growing. Little or nothing was being ploughed back into the minerals-rich countries to increase the availability of their resources. The annual defense budget of the U.S., in fact, in 1972 was 2.5 times total *cumulative* United States overseas investments through multi-national corporations in all the countries of the world not classified as developed.

Why the U.S. has been so obtuse, so lacking in foresight and common humanity in areas involving the nation's survival in its dealings with the world at large, is a complex question involving illusions, generosity, greed, power-plays at home and abroad, and the evolution of institutional relations corresponding to concepts of world realities rather than to the facts of those realities. The consequence has become, that, with existing institutional arrangements for distribution of the world's production among nations and peoples, it grows increasingly difficult for industrial nations–especially for the United States–to satisfy expansion ambitions and simultaneously to help industrialize the Third World. There simply is not enough, in the way of developed resources, to expand the extravagant waste of today's capitalism and to meet the minimal development needs of less developed countries.

Somebody is going to go short. That shortage will increase. Europe and Japan are taking steps to protect themselves against it to some degree, based on acceptance that the Third World revolt is real and is, so far, successful. The U.S. response of proposed retaliatory action is pitiful. It simply does not reflect the facts nor recognize that a revolution has indeed occurred. Perhaps the U.S. did not listen closely to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia when he told us, from his strong base of petroleum power, that revolutions can come from thrones as well as from conspirators' cellars: a sentiment expressed differently and before him by Prince Souphanouvong of Laos with a small base of power, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia with less, and long before and prematurely by King Amanullah of Afghanistan, with no power base at all. Revolt, as gold, is where you find it.

Terence McCarthy is a consulting economist who until recently taught at Columbia University.

CHINA

(*From page 38*)

[A VERY CHINESE REVOLUTION]

While the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had a universal significance, the present movement is primarily national. The Chinese revolt in the 1960s triggered a response among the young and the poor throughout the world. Parisian students and workers who rose up in 1968 against the French establishment shouted the Chinese battlecry "Rebellion is justified." The originality of the first cultural revolution lay in the drama of a vast movement of the nation's rank and file led by Mao against the entrenched Communist Party organization. With his insight that under certain circumstances a communist party "would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party," Mao moved to return the revolution to the masses. Mao still believed in the Leninist doctrine of the vanguard party, but he struck down the Russian version of that doctrine by substituting his own notion of uninterrupted revolution under socialism.

Despite the confusion, turmoil and political infighting of the first cultural revolution, the efforts of hundreds of millions of Chinese to transform the remaining oppressiveness and inequality in their society struck a chord of sympathy in all throughout the world who had half a mind to understand what the Chinese were up to. But after the power struggle following the Ninth Party Congress, and the subsequent invitation to Nixon, the international Left grew bewildered and dismayed. The fact that the present movement, three years after the death and disgrace of Lin Piao, Mao's "best pupil," designated successor and leader of the Cultural Revolution, takes as its supreme task the effort to exorcise Lin's ghost, indicates that the Chinese people as well have found difficulties in digesting it all.

For more than two years after Lin's death, an internal study campaign involving millions of people studied the secret directive "571" which outlined Lin Piao's plot against the Chairman. In this directive, Lin compared Mao with China's first emperor, the ruthless Chin Shih Huang-ti of the third century B.C. who had been excoriated throughout Chinese history for "burying the scholars alive," substituting despotic rule for the Confucian ethic and extirpating the local centers of power. Lin struck a very sensitive spot in the historical memory shared by many Chinese, for the Chin Dynasty lasted only some two decades, crumbling a few years after the death of its founder. Many reactionary Chinese have predicted a similar fate for Mao's China.

It is in this context that the Chinese are now extolling the progressive nature of the first emperor as the founder of a united China, who built the Great Wall and overthrew the old slave-owning classes. If only eight years ago Lin Piao epitomized the Cultural Revolution and people's war, now he is linked with that even earlier successor Liu Shao-ch'i as a leader of the "bourgeois headquarters" – in other words a reactionary. Clearly the present campaign is attempting to separate the man from the policies with which he had once been associated. Liu was overthrown for not having pushed Mao's thought and Lin for having pushed it in an exaggerated manner. However, since Mao wishes to preserve the principle of the Cultural Revolution as an ever-ready weapon against mandarinism, the political rules of the game that have arisen in Chinese politics decree that Lin must be excised from Chinese history as a rightist who succumbed before the Russians and rediscovered Confucian elitism.

Proceeding under the slogan "Criticize Lin Piao; Criticize Confucius," the present mass campaign claims that the counter-revolutionary essence of Lin Piao is revealed by the Confucian scrolls found hanging in his home which proclaim "Although there is much to be done, nothing in the world is more important than self-denial and the restoration of the sense of propriety." The very Chineseness of this movement is in stark contrast with the international language of the policy debates that permeated the politics of the great rebellion of the 1960s, which many foreigners found quite comprehensible. This time the Chinese are grappling mainly with issues confined to their own internal housekeeping.

While so many old cadres returned to their former power positions, eight

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million new members have also been taken into the Party since the Cultural Revolution. The fact that Teng Hsiao-ping, former first secretary of the Chinese Communist Party who came under severe attack during the Cultural Revolution, has been brought back into the supreme political bureau of the Party indicates that the old Party stalwarts wield a great deal of power. However this fact alone does not prove a return to the status quo ante. There is a new group of leaders like Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, and Yao Wen-yuan, all from a Shanghai base, who came out of the radicalism of the Cultural Revolution. What now blurs the ideological lines is that many who opposed Lin also opposed the Cultural Revolution, whereas many who admired Lin also were fervent advocates of the uninterrupted revolution.

[REVOLUTION WITH ORDER]

The return of old cadres and the rise of new cadres raises the issue of succession, and no institution of Chinese society is more important for succession than higher education. Among the many policy issues which arose during the Cultural Revolution, one which went to the core of the debate on revisionism was how students were to be selected for university admission. The determination of access to China's limited higher education was one key to the creation of those technological elites who would someday hold power. It was widely recognized that one of the surest ways of repeating the Soviet Union's class stratification was to permit the new bureaucracy to perpetuate its power through educational privileges granted its children. Thus, one of Mao's earliest and most popular moves in the first year of the Cultural Revolution, 1966, was the abolition of university entrance exams.

When universities finally reopened tentatively in 1969 and 1970, it was proudly announced that the first few hundred post-Cultural Revolution university students were from the ranks of the workers and peasants, chosen by workmates and not by examination. A new system had evolved under which all secondary school graduates were sent to factories or rural areas for at least two years, and only those few selected by the workers and peasants would go on to a university education. Their competition for selection included not only their contemporaries, but older working people who had proven their ability and political firmness in practice. Thus it seemed that in an exceedingly sensitive and ignificant

Maoist demonstration in Peking, *1967*

Wide World

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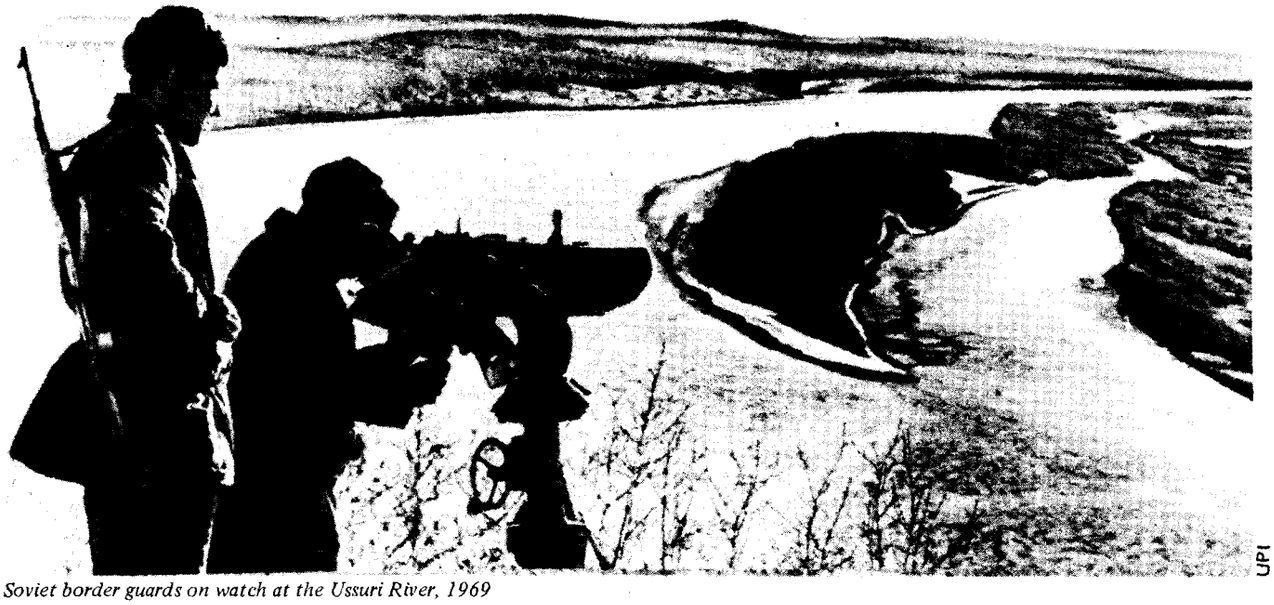

Soviet border guards on watch at the Ussuri River, 1969

area, the Cultural Revolution had scored a definitive victory.

But as many pre-Cultural Revolution cadres returned to their posts, they wasted no time in guaranteeing their children admission to universities. Some high university officials, aware of the egalitarian grip on the people of the Cultural Revolution ideology, have given long, patient briefings to explain the obvious good sense of admitting those who already have a high cultural level, thus saving the state vast amounts of time and money. Their argument is hardly new. Those who had experienced the intensity of popular feeling on this subject wondered how it had been possible so quickly to initiate a reversal of policy in so critical an area. The events of the past months indicate that popular feeling is still strong, a factor with which the political leadership must deal.

In July of last year, the *Liaoning Daily* in northeastern Shenyang published a letter from a young man named Chang Tieh-sheng who wrote that he had followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary policy of settling down in the countryside and had worked hard, nearly 18 hours a day, for two years. He had had no time to study and when it came time for him to take his entrance examination, he had, quite naturally, forgotten his math, physics and chemistry and failed the examination. The questions he raised were the central questions concerning the newly reinstated examination system. When his letter was printed in *Red Flag* and *The People's Daily,* the resulting articles and heated discussion throughout the country indicated that Chang Tieh-sheng had hit upon one of the nerve centers of the Chinese people s political consciousness.

Although the questions in the field of education raised by the first Cultural Revolution are once again on the agenda, the depth to which they will be pursued is not yet clear. However, abuses are now out in the open. On January 17, *The People's Daily* featured an "ideological report" by a Nanking University student who had entered the university "by the back door" in 1972 using his cadre father's influence and now, having realized the error of his ways, was asking permission of the university party committee to withdraw from school. The student Chung Chih-ming speaks of the practice as if it were widespread and generally accepted, and with remarkable disingenuousness, he reviews his gradual awakening to the wrongness of his actions with not a hint that this was an issue discussed by every young person in China during the years of the Cultural Revolution. Interestingly also, the numerous articles and broadcasts publicizing Chung's statement contain no real criticism of his parents' flagrant abuse of bureaucratic power. In the Cultural Revolution, the cadre's father would have been a target of "struggle"; this time, the parents merely state that it "had been a wrong and unhealthy tendency to send Chih-ming to the university through the 'back door.' "

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UPI

Russian and Chinese troops clash on far eastern border, December 1969

The same mild tone, characteristic so far of the present movement, has marked the editorial approach to two other letters prominent in the Chinese press, from students criticizing their teachers' rigidity on examinations and hostility to student opinion. These letters do not touch upon the central question of university entrance nor do they attack educational policy and the leadership which determines it, but within a general criticism of revisionism, concentrate on teaching methods and the responsibility and attitudes of the local teacher. Both are discussed with an accompanying plea for closer student-teacher unity. The New China News Agency reported that in response to a Peking schoolgirl's letter, one primary school student announced that he would "raise hell, starting today." However, after his classmates convinced him that he was misinterpreting the spirit of the editorial position, the discussion between students and teachers brought about "revolutionary order" in the school that was "even better than before."

So it would seem that although cultural revolutions have been written into the Party Constitution, such revolutions may no longer be the hell-raising affairs of the Sixties but great campaigns of revolutionary order. Although some observers speculate that these criticisms by schoolchildren constitute early and minor steps in a campaign that will intensify, it is equally possible that they represent a de-escalation of explosive issues down to more manageable ones, and a deflection of attention away from the leadership responsible for the erosion of Cultural Revolution policies onto the inevitable shortcomings of classroom teachers.

[COOLING CULTURAL EXCHANGE]

Just as the educational debate concentrates on the backslidings of the past few years, so too are the attacks on Western music and on Antonioni's film *China* closely related to the relaxation that accompanied the new foreign policy. The visit of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra and the making of Antonioni's film both took place in a time of unexpected cultural thaw with the West in general and the United States in particular. However if the new relationship with the United States is a united front in the context of a growing threat of war, then its political purposes are central and its cultural trappings perhaps only confusing.

The large number of people-to-people exchanges which followed the Nixon visit showed the Chinese that a united front relationship at the top did not guarantee a similar one at the bottom. The Chinese have taken great pains to explain to foreign visitors that *all* countries are threatened by the Soviet Union, but few visitors come away convinced of the argument for themselves or their own countries, though most come away convinced that the Soviet Union constitutes a real menace to China. It is only someone like Joseph Alsop, reflecting high-

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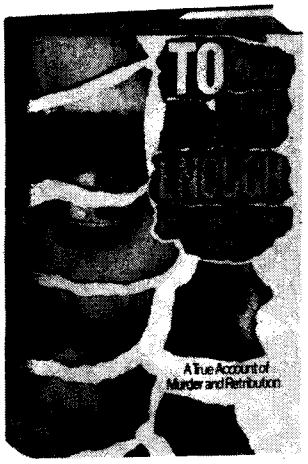
"Both a cliffhanger and a moving human document..."



this compelling book tells the story of Don White, a young black murderer, his trial, his rehabilitation in prison and his fight to overturn a death sentence . . . A noteworthy book indeed." — *Publishers Weekly*

"There is a compelling authenticity to this version of the old tale of the prisoner who finds a new and meaningful life while waiting on Death Row. . . . the objective journalistic style successfully skirts bathos to make White's redemption a persuasive brief against the death penalty. The Death Row scenes, particularly the last hours of another condemned man, have a chilling immediacy that might give pause to any ardent proponent of capital punishment."
— *Kirkus Reviews*

"To Die is Not Enough is an absorbing account which documents my thesis that the death penalty serves no rational purpose. . . . a most important contribution."
— ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

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level opinions, who for decades has decried the Soviet threat to America (and earlier, one from China), who now writes of the new relationship between China and America as an "informal alliance." It is not unlikely that the Chinese have concluded that extensive cultural exchanges are ineffectual politically, costly in people and resources, and potentially damaging to China's determination not to be swept before the flood of Western cultural influences as has happened to so many Asian countries.

It is hard to determine whether the criticism of Beethoven and Schubert is really a question of Beethoven and Schubert, not an issue of much interest to the majority of Chinese people; whether it is a gambit within internal Chinese politics attacking the opening to the U.S.; or whether it is simply an attempt to diminish Western cultural influences. Perhaps what really rankled in the apparently ecstatic visit of the Philadelphia Orchestra was not Beethoven, Schubert, nor even Respighi, but the condescending Western journalistic commentary on the Chinese musical scene and the new Peking operas which the Chinese defend with such national – and sometimes nationalist – pride. Or perhaps it is a warning to those cultural tsars of the thaw whose invitations to the Philadelphia Orchestra last year led, by some mysterious logic, to one this year to the English rock band, The Moody Blues.

Nor are the attacks on Antonioni's film *China* merely camouflage for political arguments. There is no camera carrying visitor to the new China who is not made immediately aware that the Chinese are acutely sensitive about the photographing of any aspects of what they regard as backwardness, whether it be women with bound feet, children with patched clothes, or shabby buildings. They are fiercely proud of their achievements of the past 25 years – of a healthy and adequately clothed population, a prosperous and thriving countryside, their remarkable industrial growth, hospitals, kindergartens and housing projects. Evidence of growth is everywhere. It is not as if the film maker had to make an effort to find it. And so in the criticisms of the Antonioni film one is struck by a pained tone of hurt pride and insulted dignity.

In any case, clearly cultural exchange has gone too far, and just as the new movement may be seen as Mao's attempt to recapture some of the eroding domestic gains of his Cultural Revolution, so it may also be seen as his effort to consolidate the new foreign policy without its side effects. The Chinese criticism of Western cultural influences has in no way deterred the dramatic increase of Chinese trade with the West. Peking continues its heavy buying of jet transports, helicopters, oil-drilling rigs, trucks, buses and complete steel and chemical plants from the Japanese and Americans who are getting most of the orders.

[PREPARING FOR THE STORM]

Revolutionary movements as well as countries tend to become nationally conscious when threatened by war. The spiritual resources of their own people matter more to them than those of other countries. That was the case in Yenan China of the 1940s and appears to be so now. The present movement reflects what may be Mao's last effort to prepare for his succession by cementing the alliance of the cultural revolution at home with the united front abroad, hitting at those who challenge either – as the Chinese say, the extremes of "leftist" and "rightist" tendencies. Whether a workable consensus can be built out of the many disparate elements involved remains to be seen.

While the favorite game of so many China-watchers is seeing who is intriguing against whom in Peking, the fact is that the movements of the real world affect those in office much more than the reverse. If their policies fail leaders will fall from power. The policies toward the Soviet Union involve only the Chinese themselves, since they are predicated upon the worst possible assumption, that the Russians are planning a blitz attack. But the policy toward the United States presumes some reciprocity in order to work. Kissinger has a notion of what he calls the floating balance of power and, like Bismarck, is prone to shifting alliances, as has become evident in America's amazing new policies in the Middle East. Such shifts could make a shambles out of the kind

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of long-range strategy that the Chinese consider fundamental to any foreign policy.

With the seeming commitment of the Nixon Administration to a U.S.-Soviet détente, the Chinese are at least premature in asserting détente has burst like a soap bubble. While Defense Secretary Schlesinger speaks of a menacing "counter-force" nuclear strategy against the Russians and a Soviet-targeted defense budget is on the rise, the massive business deals American capitalists are concluding with Soviet functionaries indicate a considerable broadening to détente. No one knows what the U.S. will, should, or can do if the Russians make a move against China. Some few in the government know what the Americans may be doing to deter such an attack. Obviously, the U.S., which fought a barbaric and inconclusive war in Indochina to stop "Chinese expansionism," has no sentimental ties to its new Chinese "informal ally." But in terms of national interest, Washington may have reason to fear the consequences of a Russian attack on China. The American variables in China's united front equation may have more influence on which Chinese leaders stay in certain key power positions than a few snipers on China's domestic scene.

In 1970 Mao called the Soviet Union a new Hitlerite, German-fascist type regime. Ironically, the Chinese see themselves in the same position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union that the latter was in, in the late 1930s, vis-à-vis Hitler Germany. For the Chinese view détente with the Russians as no different from what appeasement of Hitler was in Chamberlain's day. They are pulling in nationalistically, as they did in Yenan times, and they expect some, but do not know how much, united front help. Except for the international Right and a new breed of cold warrior, few people outside of China accept that image of the Soviet Union. Yet if the Russians make a move against China, they would indeed be seen as new Hitlerites attacking the greatest revolution of the latter half of the 20th century.

David Milton, Nancy Milton and Franz Schurmann are editors of People's China, *a reader just published by Random House.*

LETTERS

(From page 8)

Giora Newman in 1972 was closely followed by leftists here and abroad. Moreover, there are many in Israel who serve in the Army only under severe personal duress, fearing government reprisals, loss of job and public ostracism.

Clearly it is not easy within an increasingly militaristic-capitalist Israeli state to actively speak out for social, economic and political justice. Those individuals and groups in Israel attempting to do so deserve our fullest attention and support.

Paula Rayman,
Martin Blatt
Somerville, Mass.

Editors / I was appalled at the child-like naivete and downright unfairness of Victor Cygielman's article in your February issue. He has deliberately omitted historical facts in order to prove his point. In effect he was chiding the Israelis for thinking they can achieve peace by territorial aggression, the inference being that the occupation of the Sinai was a deliberate aggressive maneuver in order to achieve security by attaining "defensible boundaries."

Not a word, Mr. Cygielman, about Nasser's work to form the UAR with its mutual aggression pact directed at Israel, the Russian arms build-up, and the subsequent mobilization of Nasser's forces into the Sinai, onto Israel's doorstep! Not a mention of Nasser's expulsion of the UN peacekeeping force in 1967 followed by the blockade of the vital Gulf of Aqaba while three massive, well-equipped armies stood on the borders of a country that was 60 miles wide at its widest in the Negev, and only *10* miles wide on its Jordanian front. Perhaps Mr. Cygielman wasn't watching when Nasser declared several times on worldwide TV that this time they would "drive the Jews into the sea" (that's a quote!).

Would Mr. Cygielman think this situation was in any way a threat to Israel, or is there anyone who believes Nasser was just kidding—maybe a practical joke? And what do you do, Mr. Cygielman, if you are threatened, let us say, by a man with a knife in a dark alley—do you lean forward and bare your throat? Or would you be above using the element of surprise (if you could) to save your own life? And if by a stroke of good fortune you manage to disarm your opponent, do you then apologize with a smile and give him back his knife? It would be stealing, after all, to keep a knife that didn't belong to you, wouldn't it?

War is not a final answer, but it is a temporary one, and the only method Israel has in the present state of affairs, of insuring her own survival. And in any war, all will agree that a competent army and defensible borders are absolute prerequisites.

In conclusion, let's shed a tear for the real casualty of the 25-year conflict—the common Arab people. Instead of food, clothing, and education, their leaders use their Russian influence to give them Russian guns, and fill their forlorn imaginations with promises of the great glory and benefit that will come to every Arab when a small nation of 3 million people is finally overrun by 100 million Arabs.

Les Vertesi
Burlington, Ont., Canada

[EXISTENTIAL PAIN]

Editors / Sartre gives me an eternal pain in the ass. It's intellectuals like you that continue to waddle about in centuries with pessimists like Sartre at your throats. Why not refresh your readers with the clear waters of J. Krishnamurti? If you're willing to read the man close enough (*Flight of the Eagle*) you might discover he even finds room for Politics. The existentialists wouldn't know an apple if they had one in their hands.

D. Carmen Schimizzi
Rochester, N.Y.

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Ramparts

TO OUR NEWSSTAND READERS:
We thought you might like to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

Dear Subscriber,

It is our practice to write you occasional letters, telling you what's happening here at RAMPARTS, begging your indulgence or help, and commenting dolorously on the doings and undoings in the world of magazine publishing. Unfortunately for the country, most of our letters have described the way that print journalism is contracting; it has become for us a sort of symbol of hard times during the past few years. We have noted the disappearance of big city dailies; we have written obituaries for such giants as *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* seeing in their passing an evil augury for free speech and informed opinion; and we have lamented the way that the conglomerate mentality trifled with Willie Morris's *Harper's* and left the *Saturday Review* twisting slowly in the wind. Through it all we have wondered, in A. J. Liebling's words, what good freedom of the press is if there isn't one.

But now some of the gloom has lifted. Watergate seems to have revived the press somewhat, and the Nixon strategy of subduing broadcast journalism and destroying the credibility of the *Post,* the *Times,* and other opinion-makers has failed. There is even a new magazine on the newsstands. Optimistically called *New Times,* it promises to provide the best of the New Journalism. It is the text for this sermon.

[DE RIGEUR JOURNALISM]

The New Journalism was a creature of the early Sixties, an attempt by writers to give print another dimension, to drop the pretense that human observers were ever impartial or value free, and to do justice to their feeling that the worlds of fact and fiction were closer than is usually let on. Tom Wolfe began it all, with essays that probed a whole range of cultural happenings: first the turf of Southern California hotrodders and surfers, and later the zonked-out domain of Ken Kesey's Merry Pranksters and Leonard Bernstein's guilt-ridden courtship of the Black Panthers. One was not often happy with what Wolfe said, but still delighted with his ability to say it. Then Norman Mailer swaggered into the arena, scorning such welterweight ephemera and instead taking on Sonny Liston, the character of the President, moonshots, and political conventions. He called himself "he," "Aquarius," or, more recently, "the biographer," and it soon became clear that Mailer was less interested in the event than in the way he confronted it. He made the vertical pronoun *de rigeur* in the New Journalism.

The reportage of Wolfe and Mailer hit the best-seller list. Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* became required reading along with Jimmy Breslin's newspaper columns. *Esquire* was its cradle, but the magazine most closely identified with it was *New York,* which rose up from the ashes of the New York *Herald-Tribune's* Sunday Supplement.

New York was slick, well-edited, and plugged in to the best of the New Journalists. Clay Felker was the editor. George Hirsch was the publisher, fresh from *Time-Life.* After a shaky start, *New York* found its milieu and did well by almost every market standard. It achieved rising circulation at a time when the mass circulation magazines were suffering unto death; it made money and then went public. True, the decision to restrict its audience to New York may have seemed parochial, but then the publishing industry has always vaguely felt that the rest of the nation doesn't quite exist.

Yet when editor Felker and publisher Hirsch fell out, and Hirsch left to found a new magazine conceived in the style of *New York,* he vowed it would aim at a broad national audience. Moreover Hirsch audaciously decided to avoid the traditional fund-raising strategy used by most new magazines — to woo a handful of rich investors whose motives would not be profit, for profit was one thing that no magazine publisher could promise. Instead of chasing angels to support his new project, Hirsch went straight to the American countinghouses, the big banks. His move paid off — to the tune of $1.7 million. Among *New Times'* owners are Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, American Express, and the First National Bank of Boston.

Our intent is not to review *New Times* or to enviously gripe about its vast source of money, but to note that, rather than the beginning of something new, the story of *New Times* seems to be the end of something old, specifically the New Journalism. You will remember that we have never published much in this genre. We have respect for this kind of writing when done by skilled hands, but by now it seems to have become an orthodoxy.

This may sound strange coming from a magazine so often charged with being ideological, yet it is consistent. We fault the New Journalists with telling too little about what is actually going on and examining what can be done about it. The birth of *New Times* is an important event, but it hardly offers much hope for strengthening the dissenting press. On the contrary, we see the ability of this

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magazine to attract big bank investors as a certification of our intuition that the New Journalism has become a blue chip and is not only safe but potentially profitable.

This, no doubt, will call forth a charge of sour grapes or covetousness on our part. Let us precipitously plead innocent to the first charge and guilty to the second. Never in its short history has RAMPARTS wooed such institutional money, less out of principle perhaps than out of the knowledge that the particular lust of both parties was doomed to go unrequited. We don't want a friend at Chase Manhattan. But as far as coveting a $1.7 million bank account is concerned, hell yes we do. We have no doubts what we would do with a war chest like this.

[ENTER RAMPARTS PROMISSORILY]

Two months ago we went out on a limb here at RAMPARTS. We added a number of new writers to our pages. We did this because we are convinced that never since the beginning of the Vietnam era ten years ago has there been such an opportunity for hard-hitting and creative journalism on the Left. We don't need to tell you why: Watergate, oil, impeachment, and still more cracks in the American façade that will doubtless appear by the time you receive this letter.

There are many things we want to do: going after the kind of investigative stories the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post* refuse to cover; comprehensive analysis of crises foreign and domestic; concrete proposals for institutional change; expanded coverage of the women's movement; more thoughtful treatment of books and movies; more fiction and poetry — the list is endless. We intend to hammer out thorough, radical positions on major issues in America — education, crime and punishment, health care, transportation, taxation, government—the kinds of projects that have long distinguished RAMPARTS from the half dozen or so other Left journals in this country. Now we have the staff, but we can still use the money. And so we come to the request we've made before: for you to help us by renewing your subscription in advance.

By subscribing now, you will not only save money, but you'll also get a free hardcover copy of *The Book of Daniel* by E. L. Doctorow. *The Book of Daniel* is the most distinguished book we have ever offered. *Newsweek* called it "the best novel of the year." Writer Joyce Carol Oates reviewed it as "a nearly perfect work of art, a cause for rejoicing." *Daniel* is boldly political: its subject a fictionalized version of the Rosenberg case and the wave of anti-communist hysteria which swept America in the McCarthy years, seen in haunting flashbacks from the New Left America of the late 1960s.

Having asked for your money, we will close by asking for your ideas. Now with our revitalized staff we are more than ever eager to hear from readers about the directions you think the magazine should be taking, stories you liked, ideas for future articles. We can't always promise to answer, but we will circulate the letters among ourselves, and we do want to hear from you.

For the editors,

Patricia Keel

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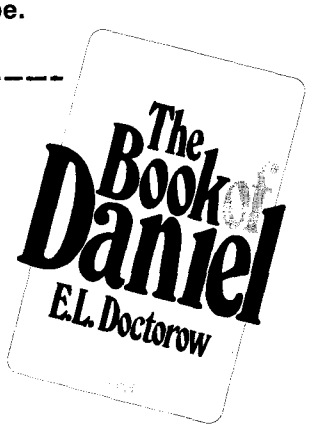

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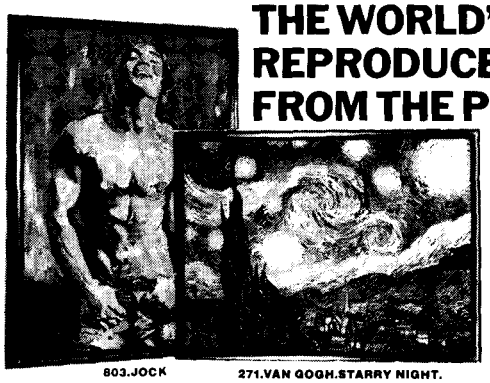

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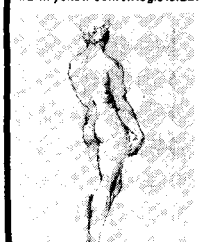

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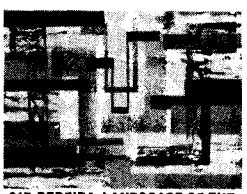

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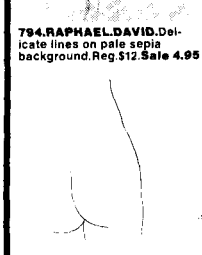

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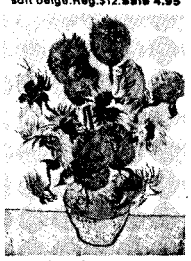

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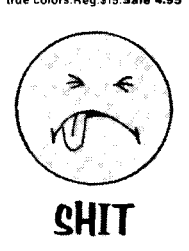

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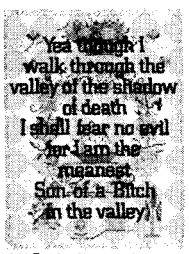
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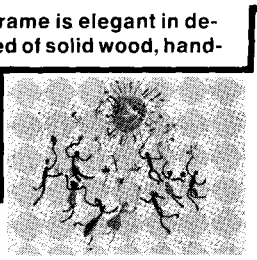

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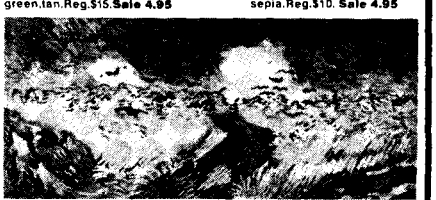

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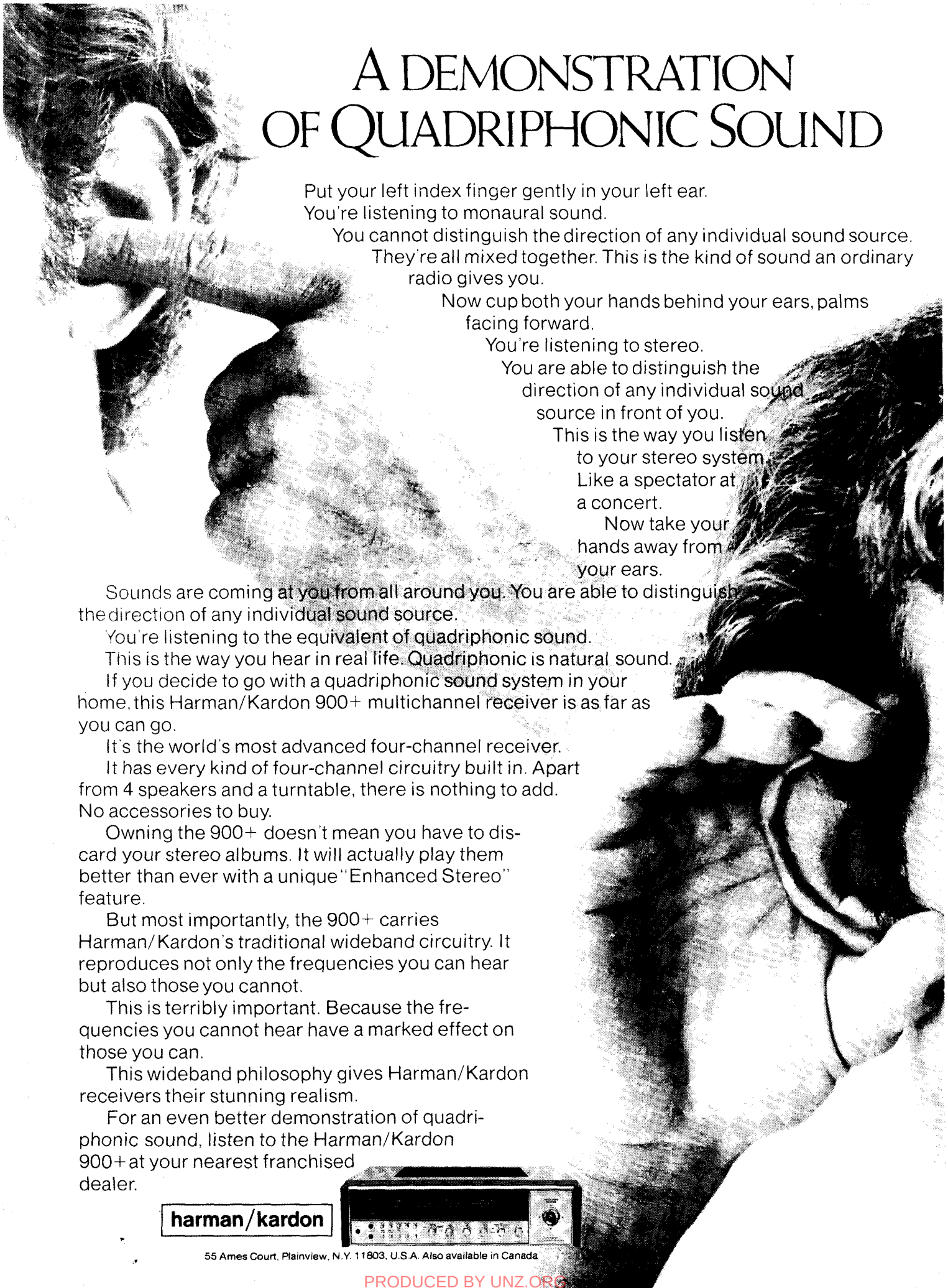

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Now take your hands away from your ears.

Sounds are coming at you from all around you. You are able to distinguish the direction of any individual sound source.

You're listening to the equivalent of quadriphonic sound.

This is the way you hear in real life. Quadriphonic is natural sound.

If you decide to go with a quadriphonic sound system in your home, this Harman/Kardon 900+ multichannel receiver is as far as you can go.

It's the world's most advanced four-channel receiver.

It has every kind of four-channel circuitry built in. Apart from 4 speakers and a turntable, there is nothing to add. No accessories to buy.

Owning the 900+ doesn't mean you have to discard your stereo albums. It will actually play them better than ever with a unique "Enhanced Stereo" feature.

But most importantly, the 900+ carries Harman/Kardon's traditional wideband circuitry. It reproduces not only the frequencies you can hear but also those you cannot.

This is terribly important. Because the frequencies you cannot hear have a marked effect on those you can.

This wideband philosophy gives Harman/Kardon receivers their stunning realism.

For an even better demonstration of quadriphonic sound, listen to the Harman/Kardon 900+ at your nearest franchised dealer.

harman/kardon

55 Ames Court, Plainview, N.Y. 11803, U.S.A. Also available in Canada

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